

TEMPLE THEMES IN THE BOOK OF MOSES



Jeffrey M. Bradshaw



The book of Moses is an ideal starting point for a scripture-based study of temple themes. It is well known, for example, that the LDS temple endowment, like the book of Moses, includes the stories of Creation and of Adam and Eve. What is more rarely appreciated, however, is that the relationship between scripture and temple teachings goes two ways. Not only have many of the stories of the book of Moses been included in the endowment, but also, in striking abundance, themes echoing temple architecture, furnishings, ordinances, and covenants have been deeply woven into the book of Moses itself.

In order to identify and explore temple themes in the book of Moses, Jeffrey M. Bradshaw has combined insights from scripture, modern prophets, and religious scholars with relevant excerpts from ancient religious documents. Written in a clear and compelling style, and including over one hundred full color images, this book aims to provide an increased appreciation for the doctrines and ordinances of the temple, and for the book of Moses as inspired scripture.



Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, Ph.D., is a Senior Research Scientist at the Florida Institute for Human and Machine Cognition (IHMC) in Pensacola, Florida (www.ihmc.us/groups/jbradshaw/). His professional writings have explored a wide range of topics in human and machine intelligence and their interaction. Jeff has written a highly-acclaimed scholarly commentary on the book of Moses entitled *In God's Image and Likeness* (www.imageandlikeness.net). It has been praised by the eminent Old Testament scholar Margaret Barker as “remarkable,” by the Emeritus Director of FARMS S. Kent Brown as a “most interesting tapestry,” by BYU Professor of Ancient Scripture David R. Seely as being of “cosmic scope” with a “wealth of stunning artistic and literary images,” and by prominent LDS scientist David H. Bailey as a “uniquely modern and honest treatment.” Jeff has presented at FAIR meetings in the USA, Germany, and France, and has published in the *International Journal of Mormon Studies*, *Element: A Journal of Mormon Philosophy and Theology*, and *BYU Studies*. He was a missionary in the Belgium-Brussels mission, and has since served in a variety of Church capacities including early-morning seminary teacher, bishop, high councilor, stake presidency counselor, and temple ordinance worker. Jeff and his wife Kathleen are the parents of four children.

TEMPLE THEMES IN THE BOOK OF MOSES

Jeffrey M. Bradshaw

Eborn Books
Salt Lake City, 2014

www.TempleThemes.net

This work is not an official publication of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The views that are expressed within this work are the sole responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or any other entity.

2017 16 15 14

5

4

3

2

1

Eborn Publishing
3601 S. Constitution Blvd, Suite B120
West Valley City, Ut. 84119-3766
<http://www.earnbooks.com/>

Cover: *Lit Menorah with Tree of Life at Center* by Dixie L. Sainsbury Magers, 1985

Library of Congress Control Number: 2010909787

Bradshaw, Jeffrey M.

Temple Themes in the Book of Moses / Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.—1st ed., 2014 updated edition.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN-13: 978-0-9828082-8-3 (color edition), 978-1-4537421-2-9 (black and white edition)

(Softbound)

ISBN-13: 978-0-9828082-9-0 (digital edition)

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Figures	ix
Figure Credits.....	xii
Introduction	1
A Starting Point for a Study of Temple Themes	2
Purpose of This Book.....	3
Learning to Read the Scriptures	5
Cautions and Encouragement in the Study of Temple Themes	8
1. The JST as Preparation for Temple Revelations	13
A Close Look at Joseph Smith’s Translation Effort	13
The Prophet’s Careful Stewardship of Temple-Related Revelations.....	15
Conclusions	16
2. The Temple Pattern.....	17
O My Father	18
The Hymn of the Pearl.....	20
Conclusions	22
3. The Vision of Moses as a Heavenly Ascent	23
Heavenly Ascent in the Ancient World.....	26
The Structure of Moses 1	29
Parallels to Moses 1 in the Apocalypse of Abraham.....	30
Conclusions	49
4. Creation and the Garden as Models for Temple Architecture.....	51
“Let There Be Light”	51
“I, God, Divided the Light from the Darkness”	53
The Days of Creation and Temple Architecture	54
Parallels in the Layout of the Garden of Eden and of the Temple.....	55
Conclusions	59
5. The Symbolism of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge	61
Symbolism of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.....	61
Symbolism of the Tree of Life	64
Olive Tree or Date Palm?	65
Conclusions	67
6. The “Sacred Center” of the Garden of Eden	69
The Symbolism of the “Sacred Center”	70
The Tree of Knowledge as the Veil of the Sanctuary.....	77
“Eastward in Eden”	88
Conclusions	89

7. The False and the True “Keeper of the Gate”	91
The Giving of Names by Adam.....	91
Differences Between the Programs of God and Satan	94
Satan’s Strategy for Confusion and Deception	97
The Forbidden Fruit as a Form of Knowledge.....	100
The True “Keeper of the Gate”	103
Conclusions.....	105
8. The False Apron and the Tree of Death and Rebirth.....	107
The False Apron	107
The Tree of Knowledge as a Symbol of Death and Rebirth	109
Parallels to the Story of the Fall.....	119
Conclusions.....	124
9. A Curse for the Serpent and Blessings for Adam and Eve.....	127
The Curse of the Serpent.....	129
The Challenges and Blessings of Celestial Marriage	130
Conclusions.....	134
10. Was Eve Beguiled?	137
The Standard View of the Fall	138
Was Satan Entirely Truthful?	140
Was Eve Actually Beguiled?.....	142
Eve Restores the Broken Harmony.....	146
The Symbolism of the Fall in Context.....	147
Conclusions.....	147
11. The Nakedness and the Clothing of Adam and Eve.....	149
Gradients of Holiness and Changes of Clothing	150
From Glory to Nakedness (Moses 3:25)	151
From Innocence to Transgression (Moses 4:16)	152
From Transgression to Blamelessness (Moses 4:27, 6:50-53).....	153
From Blamelessness to Celestial Glory (Moses 4:27).....	154
Eve Receives a Fitting and Proper Name (Moses 4:26)	155
Conclusions.....	156
12. “Stand Ye in Holy Places, and Be Not Moved”	159
East of Eden.....	159
Adam and Eve’s Standing in Eden.....	160
Israel’s Failure to Stand at Sinai	162
“The Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ”	165
The Fall of the Temple Guards at Jesus’ Arrest.....	167
Standing in Holy Places in the Latter Days	169
Conclusions.....	171

13. The “Temple Work” of Adam and Eve	173
Adam and Eve’s “Temple Work” in the Garden	174
Consequences of the Fall	176
The Choice Between Two Kinds of Work	180
Conclusions	182
14. The Prayer of Adam and Eve.....	185
Uplifted Hands.....	185
Prayer Introductions Spoken in an Unknown Language	187
Repetition.....	187
The Veiling of the Face by Women.....	189
Conclusions	192
15. Adam, Eve, and the New and Everlasting Covenant	193
The Way of Satan.....	194
The Three Messengers	197
The New and Everlasting Covenant.....	200
Conclusions	202
16. The Five Celestial Laws.....	203
The Five Celestial Laws	204
Obedience vs. Defiance	206
Sacrifice vs. Perversion of Sacrifice	208
The Gospel vs. Works of Darkness	209
Chastity vs. Licentiousness.....	212
Consecration vs. Corruption and Violence	213
Conclusions	216
Appendix: Questions About Genesis and the Book of Moses.....	217
What Is the Book of Moses?	217
Does the JST Restore the Original Text of Genesis?	217
Was the Pentateuch, As We Have It, Authored Entirely by Moses?	218
Are the Characters and Events of the Old Testament Historical?	220
Can the Book of Moses Be Characterized as “Inspired Pseudepigrapha”?.....	222
Are There Reasons to Believe that Moses 1 Has Some Basis in Antiquity?	226
Are There Reasons to Believe that Moses 6-7 Has Some Basis in Antiquity? .	230
What Can We Surmise About the Process Used to Translate the Bible?	232
Was Any of the Book of Moses Received Directly as the Result of a Vision? .	233
Is the Book of Moses in a “Final” Form?	233
In Summary, What Should We Make of the Book of Moses?	235
References.....	237
Endnotes	299

Acknowledgements

I appreciate the kindness of the following individuals, who provided helpful comments, conversations, and encouragement at various points along the way: Margaret Barker, Elma S. Bradshaw, Jonathan D. and An Redd Bradshaw, Scott and Linn Pinnock Bradshaw, Val Brinkerhoff, Bruce L. Brown, Matthew B. Brown, James Carroll, Nancy and Peaches Caudle, James C. Christensen, Delton W. and Cherrie Clark, E. Douglas Clark, Bret and Cindy Eborn, Paul J. Feltovich, Nick Galieti, Scott Gordon, Bill Hamblin, Bryce Haymond, Daryl R. and Annie Hague, John Hall, Ronan J. Head, Rich and Laura Hoffman, Frederick Huchel, Nicoletta Isar, Stephane and Agnès Janda, Bruno and Magali Kahne, Marcel Kahne, Brian Kershnik, David J. Larsen, David Lindsley, Michael P. Lyon, Carl McArthur, Jon McNaughton, Chris Miasnik, Judi and John Morrell, Bobbie Reynolds, Glenn H. Robinson, Kerry Shirts, Carrie Snow, Rudi and Sylvie Sordes, John Tvedtnes, John W. Welch, Stephen T. Whitlock, and Lynne Hilton Wilson. My sister, Bonnie B. Robinson, deserves special thanks for her tangible encouragement and guiding voice to me as a beginner to publishing for LDS readers.

Portions of this material appeared previously in *Meridian Magazine*. I am grateful to Scot and Maurine Proctor and to the many readers who have provided encouragement and helpful comments. Thanks to the many artists and photographers who contributed to the beauty of the figures in this book, especially to Dixie L. Majers whose heretofore unpublished *Lit Menorah with Tree of Life at the Center* appears on the cover, brilliantly and appropriately merging imagery from the Garden of Eden and the Temple. Linda McCarthy's ethereal *City of Enoch* is likewise published here for the first time—the only painting of this subject to which I have ever taken a liking.

The chapter on Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* draws from material co-authored with David J. Larsen.

My children and their spouses (Robert W. and Camille James Bradshaw, M. Elizabeth and Sakiusa Vakalala, Thomas M. and Lisa Paulson Bradshaw, and Samuel H. Bradshaw) offered their support and encouragement and contributed helpful perspectives and feedback. Thomas managed the Web site associated with this and associated publications (www.templethemes.net), in collaboration with Robert. My wife Kathleen lovingly accommodated the many inconveniences of the writing process and was, as always, honest and insightful in her comments and unfailing in her support.

Table of Figures

<i>Figure 0-1. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Mesa Arizona Temple</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Figure 0-2. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Tabernacle, St. George, Utah</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Figure 0-3. Arthur Henry King, 1910-2000</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Figure 0-4. Margaret Barker, 1944-</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Figure 1-1. Old Testament Manuscript 1 (OT1), page 1, 1830</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Figure 1-2. Distribution of Changes by Number of Revised Verses</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Figure 1-3. Distribution of Changes by Translation Time</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Figure 1-4. Val Brinkerhoff, Nauvoo Temple</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Figure 2-1. Ostrakon Containing the Final Eight Lines of the Tale of Sinuhe</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Figure 2-2. John Hafen, 1856-1910: Thou Hast Plac'd Me Here on Earth, 1908</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>Figure 2-3. Randie Snow, 1965-, Hymn of the Pearl, 2009</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>Figure 3-1. Harold Bloom, 1930-</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>Figure 3-2. Hugh W. Nibley, 1910-2005</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>Figure 3-3. Guardians Part the Veils and Admit Muhammad to the Throne of God</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>Figure 3-4. The Structure of Moses 1</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>Figure 3-5. First Page of the Sylvester Codex, 14th century</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Figure 3-6. The House of Terah Destroyed By Fire</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>Figure 3-7. Abraham with Sacrificial Animals</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>Figure 3-8. Winged Yahoel Compared with Abraham Facsimile 1, Figure 1</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Figure 3-9. Parallels for the Prologue (Moses 1:1-2)</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Figure 3-10. Abraham's Sacrifice Is Accepted of the Lord</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>Figure 3-11. Parallels for Moses in the Spirit World (Moses 1:3-6)</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>Figure 3-12. Parallels for Moses in the Spirit World (Moses 1:8; Abr. 3:22-23)</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Figure 3-13. Parallels for Moses Falls to the Earth (Moses 1:9-11)</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Figure 3-14. Abraham Falls to the Earth and Is Raised by Yahoel</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Figure 3-15. The Harrowing of Hell. The Barberini Exultet Roll, ca. 1087</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Figure 3-16. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:12-14)</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Figure 3-17. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:16-18)</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Figure 3-18. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:19-23)</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Figure 3-19. Parallels for Moses Calls Upon God; Hears a Voice (Moses 1:24-26)</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Figure 3-20. Ascent of Abraham and Yahoel</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Figure 3-21. Parallels for Moses' Vision at the Veil (Moses 1:27-30)</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Figure 3-22. Parallels for Moses' Vision at the Veil (Moses 1:31-40)</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>Figure 3-23. Abraham and Yahoel Before the Divine Throne</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>Figure 3-24. William Blake, 1757-1827: The Lord Answers Job, 1826</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Figure 3-25. Parallels for Epilogue (Moses 1:41-42)</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Figure 4-1. Michelangelo, 1475-1564: Creation of the Sun and Moon, 1511</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Figure 4-2. Gaetano Previati, 1852-1920: The Creation of Light, 1913</i>	<i>53</i>
<i>Figure 4-3. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: The Days of Creation and the Temple, 1994</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Figure 4-4. Investiture Panel, Mari, ca. 1800 BCE</i>	<i>56</i>
<i>Figure 4-5. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: Sacred Topography of Eden and Temple, 1994</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Figure 4-6. Linda McCarthy, 1947-: City of Enoch, 2002</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Figure 5-1. Fig Tree at Tel Dan Nature Reserve, Israel, 2008</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Figure 5-2. God Creating Eve, God Instructing Adam and Eve, late 12th century</i>	<i>63</i>
<i>Figure 5-3. Olive Tree, Traditional Site of the Garden of Gethsemane, 1977</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>Figure 5-4. Palm Tree Near the Dead Sea, 2008</i>	<i>66</i>

Figure 6-1. Lutwin: <i>How the Devil Deceived Eve (detail)</i> , early 14 th century	69
Figure 6-2. Wadi Darbat, Dhofar, Oman, 2006	70
Figure 6-3. <i>Masjid al-Haram at Night</i>	71
Figure 6-4. Gali Tibbon, 1973-: <i>Catholic Clergy Circle the Edicule</i> , 2009	72
Figure 6-5. Gustave Doré, 1832-1883: <i>The Empyrean</i> , 1857	73
Figure 6-6. David Lindsley, 1954-: <i>Behold Your Little Ones</i> , 1983	75
Figure 6-7. Dixie L. Majers, 1934-: <i>Lit Menorah with Tree of Life</i> , 1985.....	76
Figure 6-8. <i>Zones of Sacredness in Eden and in the Temple</i>	77
Figure 6-9. André Parrot, 1901-1980: <i>Court of the Palms at Mari</i> , ca. 1800 BCE	78
Figure 6-10. Val Brinkerhoff: <i>Doors, Palmyra New York Temple</i>	79
Figure 6-11. <i>Palm Tree Hedge Near Brawley, California</i> , 2008.....	80
Figure 6-12. Val Brinkerhoff: <i>Tree of Life, Winter Quarters Nebraska Temple</i>	81
Figure 6-13. Juan Bautista Villalpando, 1594-1605: <i>Holy of Holies</i>	82
Figure 6-14. <i>Chapter House in Worcester Cathedral, England</i> , 13 th century	83
Figure 6-15. <i>Ephrem's Conception of Eden</i>	84
Figure 6-16. <i>Mount Sinai and the Tabernacle</i> , Tours Pentateuch, ca. 600	85
Figure 6-17. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: <i>Noah Sees the Ark in Vision</i>	86
Figure 6-18. <i>Linear View Projected on the Circular Depiction of Eden</i>	88
Figure 7-1. <i>Angels Prostrating Themselves before the Enthroned Adam</i> , 1576	92
Figure 7-2. William Blake, 1757-1827: <i>Satan in His Original Glory</i> , ca. 1805	95
Figure 7-3. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ca. 1525-1569: <i>Fall of Rebel Angels</i> , 1562.....	96
Figure 7-4. Giuliano Bugiardini, 1475-1554: <i>Adam, Eve (detail)</i> , ca. 1510	98
Figure 7-5. <i>Moses and the Brazen Serpent (detail)</i> , ca. 1866	99
Figure 7-6. William Bell Scott, 1811-1890: <i>The Rending of the Veil</i> , 1867-1868.....	101
Figure 7-7. Andrea da Firenze, act. 1343-1377: <i>Descent of Christ to Limbo</i> , 1368	103
Figure 7-8. Ilya Efimovich Repin, 1844-1930: <i>Raising of Jairus' Daughter</i> , 1871	104
Figure 8-1. <i>Sacred Tree on the Apron of Charlemagne</i> , 8 th century	108
Figure 8-2. Alain Guilleux, 1966-: <i>Rameses II in the Ished-tree</i> , 13 th century BCE	110
Figure 8-3. <i>Zakariya, Hidden in a Tree, Sawed in Two by His Enemies</i> , 1577	111
Figure 8-4. <i>Isaiah Sawed in Two at the End</i> , Roda Bible, mid-11 th century.....	111
Figure 8-5. <i>Man Emerging from a Split Tree Trunk</i> , 16 th century	112
Figure 8-6. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: <i>Sacred Tree over Grave</i> , ca. 200 BCE	113
Figure 8-7. <i>Palm Tree Growing over "Adam's Grave" at Machpelah, Hebron</i>	114
Figure 8-8. <i>The Holy Women at the Tomb and the Ascension</i> , ca. 400	115
Figure 8-9. <i>Anubis Leads Nakht Toward Entrance to Other World</i> , ca. 1350 BCE	116
Figure 8-10. Left to Right: <i>Reconstructed Dura Europos Torah Shrine with Curtain; Dura Europos Mural Depicting Jerusalem Temple; Temple Mosaic from Khirbet Samara</i>	117
Figure 8-11. <i>Detail from the Torah Shrine of the Dura Europos Synagogue</i>	118
Figure 8-12. Tobias Verhaecht, 1561-1631: <i>The Tower of Babel</i>	119
Figure 8-13. James Tissot, 1836-1902: <i>Noah's Sacrifice</i> , ca. 1896-1902.....	120
Figure 8-14. Rembrandt, 1606-1669: <i>King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy</i> , 1635	121
Figure 8-15. Left: John Everett Millais, 1829-1896: <i>Esther</i> , 1865. Right: Minerva Teichert, 1888-1976: <i>Queen Esther</i> , 1939.....	122
Figure 8-16. <i>Adam and Eve Enthroned in Paradise</i> , 16 th century.....	123
Figure 8-17. Diane Aposhian-Moffat, 1958-: <i>Lehi's Vision of Tree of Life</i> , 2002	125
Figure 9-1. Domenichino, 1581-1641: <i>The Rebuke of Adam and Eve</i> , 1626	127
Figure 9-2. Eugène Delaplanche, 1836-1890: <i>Eve, After Transgression</i> , 1869	131
Figure 10-1. James C. Christensen, 1942-: <i>Pandora 2</i> , 2005.....	137
Figure 10-2. Brian Kershisnik, 1962-: <i>Holy Woman</i> , 2001.....	145

<i>Figure 11-1. The Expulsion of Adam and Eve, 1646</i>	149
<i>Figure 11-2. Zones of Sacredness in Eden and in the Temple</i>	151
<i>Figure 11-3. God Dressing Adam and Eve, 13th century</i>	153
<i>Figure 11-4. William Blake, 1757-1827: The Clothing of Adam and Eve, 1803</i>	157
<i>Figure 12-1. Thomas Cole, 1801-1848: Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, 1828</i>	159
<i>Figure 12-2. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Tree Near British Camp, 2009</i>	162
<i>Figure 12-3. William Blake, 1757-1827: God Creating the Universe, 1824</i>	163
<i>Figure 12-4. Jon McNaughton: Garden of Eden, Garden of Gethsemane</i>	167
<i>Figure 12-5. Ilya Efimovich Repin, 1844-1930: The Arrest of Christ, 1886</i>	168
<i>Figure 12-6. Yahoel Lifts the Fallen Abraham, 14th century</i>	172
<i>Figure 13-1. Adam-ondi-Ahman, 2010</i>	173
<i>Figure 13-2. Ruins of the Collapsed City of Ubar, 2006</i>	177
<i>Figure 13-3. William Blake, 1757-1827: Nebuchadnezzar, 1795</i>	178
<i>Figure 13-4. Leapfrog, Charles de Gaulle Airport, Roissy, France, 2010</i>	180
<i>Figure 14-1. James Tissot, 1836-1902, Dedication of the Temple, ca. 1896-1902</i>	186
<i>Figure 14-2. Veiled Christian Woman Prays with Uplifted Hands, ca. 300-400</i>	188
<i>Figure 15-1. Harold Denison, 1870-1943: Devil Approaches Jabez Stone, 1937</i>	194
<i>Figure 15-2. Lutwin: How the Devil Deceived Eve (detail), early 14th century</i>	196
<i>Figure 15-3. Andrei Rublev, ca. 1360-ca. 1430: The Holy Trinity, ca. 1408-1425</i>	199
<i>Figure 16-1. Jan van Eyck, ca. 1395-1441: Offering of Abel and Cain, 1425-1429</i>	203
<i>Figure 16-2. The Progressive Separation of the Two Ways</i>	206
<i>Figure 16-3. Blind Obedience, Toulouse, France, 2009</i>	207
<i>Figure 16-4. Ewe and Lambs, Lakes District, England, 2000</i>	209
<i>Figure 16-5. Worship, Amsterdam Schipol Airport, 2009</i>	211
<i>Figure 16-6. Eugène Carrière, 1849-1906: Intimacy, or The Big Sister, ca. 1889</i>	216

Figure Credits

Cover. Dixie L. Sainsbury Majers, 1934-: *HFAC (XXIV/XXIV) — Lit menorah with tree of life at the center and “tree of life” written*, 1985. Photograph DSC03938, 3 January 2009, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

0-1. Photograph US-AZ-Mesa-5, © Stephen T. Whitlock; **0-2.** Photograph DSCN9816, © Stephen T. Whitlock; **0-3.** An image of Arthur Henry King from the non-fiction film *Speak That I May See Thee: Conversations with Arthur Henry King*, © 1991 Brigham Young University All Rights Reserved, with the assistance of Susie Quartey; **0-4.** An image of Margaret Barker from *Conversation with Margaret Barker*, set in Eagle and Child Pub, Oxford, England, 6 August 2008, http://www.youtube.com/view_play_list?gl=GB&hl=en-GB&p=5489A46917BC2825, © William J. Hamblin.

1-1. Community of Christ, with the assistance of Robert Lewis. See S. H. Faulring, *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*, Plate 2, p. 406b; **1-2 and 1-3.** Figures © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **1-4.** © Val Brinkerhoff. See <http://cfac-old.byu.edu/valbrinkerhoff/>.

2-1. British Museum, EA 5619, registration number 1839,0921.461. See http://www.archaeowiki.org/Image:Sinuhe_Ostrakon_BM.jpg; **2-2.** Oil on paper, 16 x 10 inches. Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 820037103, with the assistance of Trevor Weight. Gift of German Elsworth. All rights reserved. This and other illustrations of *O My Father* by Hafen are reproduced in J. M. Derr, *Personal Journey*; **2-3.** © Randie Snow. See <http://www.google.com/profiles/rsnow113>.

3-1. With permission of Harold Bloom, 8 July 2010; **3-2.** With permission of Boyd Jay Petersen, 8 July 2010; **3-3.** Bibliothèque Nationale de France; **3-4, 3-9, 3-11, 3-12, 3-13, 3-16, 3-17, 3-18, 3-19, 3-21, 3-22, 3-25.** Figures © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **3-5.** Photograph DSC03609, 16 September 2008, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, with special thanks to Carole Menzies and Jennifer Griffiths of the Taylor Bodleian Slavonic and Modern Greek Library. From P. P. Novickij (Novitskii), *Otkrovenie Avraama*; **3-6, 3-7, 3-8, 3-10, 3-14, 3-20, 3-23.** Photographs IMGP2177, IMGP2171, IMGP2172, IMGP2167, IMGP2179, IMGP2175, 26 April 2009, © Stephen T. Whitlock and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, with special thanks to Carole Menzies and Jennifer Griffiths of the Taylor Bodleian Slavonic and Modern Greek Library. From P. P. Novickij (Novitskii), *Otkrovenie Avraama*; **3-15.** Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codex Barberini Latinus 592; **3-24.** National Galleries of Scotland Picture Library, with the assistance of Philip Hunt and Ann Laidlaw.

4-1. Public Domain. See [http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/The_Creation_of_the_Sun_and_the_Moon,_Michelangelo_\(1508-1512\).jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/The_Creation_of_the_Sun_and_the_Moon,_Michelangelo_(1508-1512).jpg); **4-2.** Rome, Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna e contemporanea. With the permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, and assistance from Chiara Mutti; thanks also to Studio Fotografico, with the assistance of Giuseppe Schiavinotto; **4-3, 4-5.** Courtesy of the Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, Brigham Young University, with the assistance of Don Brugger. Previously published in D. W. Parry, *Garden*, pp. 134-135. The numbering on Figure 4-1 is mine; **4-4.** Duncan Baird Publishers, with the assistance of Julia Brown and Emma Copestake. Previously published in J. R. Porter, *Guide*, p. 28; **4-6.** © Linda McCarthy.

5-1. Photograph DSC02953, 21 May 2008, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **5-2.** Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Add. 144.a. Fol., with the assistance of Mme Zerkane and Ingrid Appert, as well as the help of Elizabeth Witchell of the Warburg Institute. Previously published in R. Green, *et al.*, *Hortus*, Vol. 1, *Original fol. HD 17r*. (Figure 21), see also Vol. 2, p. 31, Figures 17-18. From the Bastard Calques plate 12, tracings of the original made ca. 1840; **5-3.** Photograph J-102, 1977, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **5-4.** Photograph DSC02894, 19 May 2008, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

6-1. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Bildarchiv, E 1546-C, with the assistance of Eva Farnberger; **6-2.** Photograph DSC00592, 30 May 2006, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **6-3.** Public Domain, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Masjid-al-haram.jpg>; **6-4.** Getty Images, AFP Collection, 85872233 (RM), 9 April 2009; **6-5.** Illustration for Paradiso Canto 31, *Divine Comedy* (1308-1321) by Dante Alighieri. Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d2/Paradiso_Canto_31.jpg; **6-6.** © David Lindsley, <http://www.davidlindsley.com>; **6-7.** Photograph DSC03938, 3 January 2009, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **6-8.** Figure © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. Compare G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 80; **6-9.** Éditions Payot and Rivages. Previously published in A. Parrot, *Mari Fabuleuse*, p. 115, fig. 63; **6-10.** © Val Brinkerhoff. See <http://cfac-old.byu.edu/valbrinkerhoff/>; **6-11.** Photograph DSC03438, 2 July 2008, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **6-12.** © Val Brinkerhoff. See <http://cfac-old.byu.edu/valbrinkerhoff/>; **6-13.** Mary Evans Picture Library, from J. B. Villalpando, *Ezechielem*, with the assistance of Mark Vivian; **6-14.** Courtesy of Roger Rosewell. With the permission of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral (UK) through the cathedral librarian and archivist David Morrison, and with the assistance of Rohais Haughton of Boydell & Brewer Limited. Previously published in R. Rosewell, *Paintings*, p. 37, fig. 39; **6-15.** Figure © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. Compare Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 53; **6-16.** Public Domain, <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/32/AshburnPenatuchtFolio076rMosesReceivingLaw.jpg>. Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat., no. 2334, folio 76 recto; **6-17.** Photograph IMGP1821, 24 April 2009, © Stephen T. Whitlock. Detail of Patriarchs Window, Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon, England; **6-18.** Figure © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

7-1. Courtesy of Rachel Milstein. Previously published in R. Milstein, *et al.*, *Stories*, illustration 57. Original in Topkapi Saray Museum Library, H. 1227: Ms. T-7, Istanbul, Turkey; **7-2.** Tate Gallery Picture Library; **7-3.** Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ec/Pieter_Bruegel_the_Elder_-_The_Fall_of_the_Rebel_Angels.JPG; **7-4.** Photograph IMGP9635, © Stephen T. Whitlock; **7-5.** St. Mark's Church, Gillingham, England, Photograph by Mike Young; **7-6.** Courtesy of Peter Nahum at The Leicester Galleries, <http://www.leicestergalleries.com>; **7-7.** Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/83/Descent_of_Christ_to_Limbo_WGA.jpg; **7-8.** Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ee/Ilja_Jefimowitsch_Repin_013.jpg.

8-1. Public Domain per <http://www.archive.org/details/christianantiqui02smituoft>. From W. Smith, *et al.*, *Dictionary*, 2:1307. Previously published in M. B. Brown, *Girded*, p. 137; **8-2.** Courtesy of Alain Guilleux, alain.guilleux@free.fr; **8-3.** Photographic Services and Permissions, New York Public Library Spencer, Pers. Ms. 1 dated 984 (1577). Previously published in R. Milstein, *et al.*, *Stories*, illustration 21; **8-4.** Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cod. Lat. 6, in Vol. II, fol. 2v; **8-5.** Donald Forsyth, on behalf of the New World Archaeological Foundation. From the *Codex Vindobonensis*, previously published in V. G. Norman, *Izapa Part 2*, p. 202, fig. 4.13, c; **8-6.** Redrawn from Wilkinson's 1878 drawing of the

Tomb of Horsiese (now destroyed) in *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3:349, fig. 588. Previously published in H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 290, fig. 95; **8-7**. Courtesy of David Wilder, The Jewish Community of Hebron, <http://www.hebron.com>; **8-8**. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Previously published in H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 456, fig. 148; **8-9**. British Museum Images, 00036309001. From the *Book of the Dead of Nakht*, Thebes, Egypt, late 18th Dynasty; **8-10a**. © Yale University Press, with the assistance of Donna Anstey. Previously published in C. H. Kraeling, *et al.*, *Synagogue*, Plate XL; **8-10b**. © Yale University Press, with the assistance of Donna Anstey. Previously published in C. H. Kraeling, *et al.*, *Synagogue*, Plate LX; **8-10c**. Courtesy of William J. Hamblin, hamblinofjerusalem.blogspot.com/2010/01/temple-mosaic-from-khirbet-samara.html; **8-11**. © Yale University Press, with the assistance of Donna Anstey. Previously published in C. H. Kraeling, *et al.*, *Synagogue*, Plate LI; **8-12**. Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/d5/Kmska_Tobias_Verhaecht_%281561-1631%29_en_Jan_Brueghel_de_Oude_%281568-1625%29_-_Toren_van_Babel_28-02-2010_14-02-24.jpg; **8-13**. Public Domain, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tissot_Noah's_Sacrifice.jpg; **8-14**. Public Domain, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/06/Rembrandt_Harmensz._van_Rijn_032.jpg; **8-15a**. Public Domain <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Esthermillais.jpg>; **8-15b**. Courtesy BYU Museum of Art, 92001200, with the assistance of Trevor Weight; **8-16**. Photographic Services and Permissions, New York Public Library, Spencer, Pers. Ms. 46. Previously published in R. Milstein, *et al.*, *Stories*, Plate 13; **8-17**. Courtesy of Diane Aposhian-Moffat. Previously published in "I beheld a tree," *Ensign*, January 2004, p. 44.

9-1. Department of Visual Services, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2000.3.1 (PA); **9-2**. Photograph DSC00996, 28 June 2006, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

10-1. © James C. Christensen, courtesy of The Greenwich Workshop, Inc. www.greenwichworkshop.com, with the assistance of Wendy Wentworth and Scott Usher; **10-2**. © Brian Kershisnik, #01074.

11-1. The British Library; **11-2**. Figure © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **11-3**. University of California Press. Previously published in P. H. Jolly, *Eve and Adam*, p. 56; **11-4**. The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge.

12-1. Photograph © 2007 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Art Object: Thomas Cole, American (born in England), 1801-1848, Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, 1828, Oil on canvas, 100.96 x 138.43 cm (39 ¾ x 54 ½ in.), Gift of Martha C. Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815-1865, 47.1188; **12-2**. Photograph IMGP1311, 8 December 2009, © Stephen T. Whitlock. British Camp is an iron age fort at the top of Herefordshire Beacon, Malvern Hills, England; **12-3**. The William Blake Archive. Original in The British Museum; **12-4**. © Jon McNaughton, with the assistance of Don Stoelt; **12-5**. Public Domain, 02varvara.files.wordpress.com/2008/03/ilya-repin-the-arrest-of-christ-1886.jpg; **12-6**. Photograph IMGP2167, 26 April 2009, © Stephen T. Whitlock and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, with special thanks to Carole Menzies and Jennifer Griffiths of the Taylor Bodleian Slavonic and Modern Greek Library. From P. P. Novickij (Novitskii), *Otkrovenie Avraama*.

13-1. Photograph DSC01133, 15 April 2010, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **13-2.** Photograph DSC00637, 31 May 2006, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **13-3.** Tate Gallery Picture Library; **13-4.** Photograph IMG_0101, 27 February 2010, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw.

14-1. Public Domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Tissot_Solomon_Dedicates_the_Temple_at_Jerusalem.jpg; **14-2.** Public Domain, <http://restoredapologetics.blogspot.com/2010/02/11.html>. From the Catacomb of Priscilla, Via Salaria, Rome, Italy.

15-1. Public Domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Daniel_Webster_and_the_Devil_argue_in_court.jpg. From S. V. Benét, *Devil*, p. 12; **15-2.** Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Bildarchiv, E 1546-C, with the assistance of Eva Farnberger; **15-3.** Public Domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Andrej_Rublëv_001.jpg.

16-1. Public Domain, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ghent_Altarpiece_A_-_Cain_-_Abel_-_sacrifice.jpg. Original in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, Belgium; **16-2.** Figure © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **16-3.** Photograph IMG_0038, 23 November 2009, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **16-4.** Photograph sheep-Xxx, 9 April 2000, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **16-5.** Photograph IMG_0217, 16 January 2009, © Jeffrey M. Bradshaw; **16-6.** Public Domain, <http://artinconnu.blogspot.com/2008/05/eugne-carrere-1849-1906.html>.



Figure 0-1. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Mesa Arizona Temple

Introduction

THE temple is the supreme place of peace on earth. As we participate in sacred ordinances on behalf of ourselves and others, we experience a foretaste of heaven. Moreover, to the degree we are attentive and teachable, the temple becomes a place of profound and very personal learning. Noting the magnitude of our opportunities in this respect, Elder Neal A. Maxwell once remarked: “God is giving away the spiritual secrets of the universe,” and then asked: “but are we listening?”¹

Repeated participation in sacred ordinances over the course of a lifetime is meant to deepen our understanding of “who we are, and who God is, and what our relationship to Him is.”² However, the process by which we gain this understanding is not mere mental exercise. The realization of the promised endowment of knowledge and power requires that we be both informed and transformed.³ This blessing of being “born again... through ordinances”⁴ is obtained only as we live for it—in a continual effort of obedience and service that strengthens the ties of covenant with which we are freely and lovingly bound to our Heavenly Father. Only in this way may we gradually experience an increasing measure of the joy of becoming all that He now is.

I say this because I realize the limits of what can be accomplished by study alone.⁵ Even if the ordinances of the temple could be described in detail outside of the temple itself, they could not be fully appreciated apart from our participation in them—and also in a daily form of life that conforms to their teachings. As we immerse ourselves in the performance of the ordinances, actively seeking greater light and knowledge, the personalized instruction of the Holy Ghost becomes available to us only to the degree the purity of our lives merits such revelation.⁶



Figure 0-2. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Tabernacle, St. George, Utah

A Starting Point for a Study of Temple Themes

To help prepare our minds and hearts to receive this divine instruction, we have been counseled to study the scriptures and the words of latter-day prophets. Allusions to temple themes can be found throughout the scriptures, but it is not always easy to recognize them. Efforts have been made to bridge this gap through books that explain the meaning of specific symbols used in scripture and temple worship. However, most of us not only struggle with the meaning of individual concepts and symbols, but also—and perhaps more crucially—in understanding how these concepts and symbols fit together as a whole system. The symbols and concepts of the temple are best understood, not in isolation, but within the full context of temple teachings to which they belong.⁷

As Latter-day Saints, we have access to more knowledge about the temple than has been available generally in any other dispensation. As a result, we are in a privileged position to have “the scriptures laid open to our understandings, and the true meaning and intention of their more mysterious passages revealed unto us.”⁸

Because its stories form such an important part of the LDS temple endowment, the book of Moses is an ideal starting point for a scripture-based study of temple themes. It is well known, for example, that the endowment, like the book of Moses, includes “a recital of the most prominent events of the creative period, the condition of our first parents in the Garden of Eden, their disobedience and consequent expulsion from that blissful abode, their condition in the lone and dreary world when doomed to live by labor and sweat, the plan of redemption by which the great transgression may be atoned.”⁹ What is more rarely appreciated, however, is that the relationship between scripture and temple teachings goes two ways. Not only have many of the stories of the book of Moses been included in the endowment, but also, in striking abundance, themes echoing temple architecture, furnishings, ordinances, and covenants have been deeply woven into the text of the book of Moses itself.

Purpose of This Book

The purpose of this book is to explore temple themes that seem to shed light on the meaning and significance of scriptural stories in the book of Moses. Of course, the presentation of these themes is neither exhaustive, nor authoritative. In this work, I have merely tried to touch on what seem to me to be interesting, and generally underappreciated, interpretive possibilities. For those interested in a more complete discussion of the book of Moses, including full documentation of sources, a comprehensive phrase-by-phrase commentary on the book of Moses and the book of Genesis through chapter 11 is available.¹⁰ For some, the expanded and reformulated material in the present volume may be useful in making that volume of commentary more comprehensible. For those who would like to explore the detailed sequence of temple blessings outlined in Doctrine and Covenants 84 in conjunction with its description of the oath and covenant of the priesthood a short volume has been prepared.¹¹

In this book, topics such as the following will be explored:

The JST as Preparation for Temple Revelations. Careful study of the history of Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST) and the contents of early revelations suggests that the most significant aspect of the translation process as a whole may have been the early tutoring in temple-related doctrines received by the Prophet.

In his effort, a high priority of time and attention was specifically accorded to the translation of Genesis 1-24, chapters rich in allusion to temple concepts.

The Temple Pattern. The story of Adam and Eve's expulsion from and return to the Garden of Eden parallels a common three-part pattern that is found throughout religious literature. We illustrate this "temple pattern" through examples from the scriptures, religious poetry, and the New Testament Apocrypha.

The Vision of Moses as a Heavenly Ascent. Elements of the temple pattern can be easily recognized in Moses 1. A careful examination of the structure of the revelation also reveals striking parallels to ancient accounts of other prophets who were invited to enter the presence of the Lord. While the experience of Moses describes the supreme reward of heavenly ascent, it also provides valuable insights about the preparatory journey that each of us take when we perform temple ordinances.

Creation and the Garden as Temple Models. Jewish teachings assert that the days of Creation are mirrored in the architecture and furnishings of the Israelite temple. They also show how the layout of the Garden of Eden seems to have been modeled in the major divisions of temple structures.

The Tree in the Midst of the Garden. Stories about the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge raise many fascinating questions. For example, did the Tree of Life promise immortality or eternal life? Why were the olive tree and the date palm attractive choices for representing the attributes of the Tree of Life? What is the significance of the placement of the Tree of Life in the center of the Garden? What are we to make of Eve's statement that it is instead the Tree of Knowledge that is located in the center of the Garden? Though, to us, details about the nature and placement of the trees of Eden may seem obscure or unimportant, ancient readers familiar with the temple would have recognized their significance for the story of the Fall.

The Fall and the Temple. Modern revelation allows us to begin to reconstruct the differences between the program of God and that of Satan for the Fall of Adam and Eve. Satan's plan seems to have heavily relied on the strategy of confusion: confusion between the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge, confusion of identity between the true and the false "keeper of the gate,"¹² and confusion between real and sham power and authority. Welcome light is thrown on the meaning of these events as they are considered in relation to the temple layout of the Garden of Eden.

The Nakedness and Clothing of Adam and Eve. Clues in scripture about the nakedness and the clothing of Adam and Eve reveal a correspondence between their movements in and out of the Garden of Eden and the movement of officiators between different areas of ancient temples. Such changes in clothing were used anciently to represent stages in progression through mortality and on to eternal life.

Covenant-Keeping and Covenant-Breaking. Ancient texts describe accounts of Satan's continued attempts to deceive mankind after the Fall, as well as visits of heavenly messengers who came to reveal the Gospel. Chapters 5 through 8 of the book of Moses also include a sequence of covenants revealed to Adam and Eve and their posterity. Not only are these the same covenants that have always been made at the temple, but they also appear largely in the same order.¹³ Both the ultimate consequences of covenant-keeping as well as those of covenant-breaking are fully illustrated at the conclusion of the series: in the final two chapters of the book of Moses, Enoch and his people are taken up to walk in the presence of God while the wicked are destroyed in the great Flood.

Learning to Read the Scriptures

I owe my awakening to the literary beauty of scripture to a Brigham Young University (BYU) "Reading the Scriptures" course taught by Professor Arthur Henry King, or "Brother King" as he preferred to be called in class. Converted to Mormonism in Britain during his later years, Brother King was a Shakespeare scholar and professional "stylistician"—in other words, an expert in how the nuances of linguistic expression reveal to their readers, both intentionally and unintentionally, not only the literary characters but also the authors themselves. Indeed, Brother King often mentioned how it was the very style of the First Vision account that convinced him that Joseph Smith was telling the truth.¹⁴

Brother King believed strongly in the virtue of reading the scriptures aloud.¹⁵ He taught the members of our class how to experiment with different approaches to reading the same verse, how to listen to the wisdom of the spoken voice, and how the varying of emphasis and pauses for breath could highlight different shades of meaning in the text.



Figure 0-3. Arthur Henry King, 1910-2000

The Prophet Joseph Smith said that scripture should be “understood precisely as it reads.”¹⁶ Likewise, Brother King taught us to read slowly, and to persist in reading until the plain sense of the words became clear to us.¹⁷ This approach differs from the facile skimming for rapid information ingestion that is the stuff of our daily business—the great Jewish scholar Martin Buber went so far as to term the application to scripture study of the modern unreflective method “the leprosy of fluency.”¹⁸

Once having gained confidence in our grasp of the plain sense of the words of scripture, we must still decode its pervasive imagery. Our problem in that respect is that we live on the near side of a great divide that separates us from the religious, cultural, and philosophical perspectives of the ancients.¹⁹ The Prophet Joseph Smith was far closer to this lost world than we are—not only because of his personal involvement with the recovery and revelatory expansion of ancient religion, but also because in his time many archaic traditions were still embedded in the language and daily experience of the surrounding culture.²⁰ Margaret Barker describes the challenges this situation presents to contemporary students of scripture:

Like the first Christians, we still pray “Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven,”²¹ but many of the complex system of symbols and stories that describe the Kingdom are not longer recognized for what they are.²²



Figure 0-4. Margaret Barker, 1944-

It used to be thought that putting the code into modern English would overcome the problem, and make everything clear to people who had no roots in a Christian community. This attempt has proved misguided, since so much of the code simply will not translate into modern English... The task, then, has had to alter. The need now is not just for modern English, or modern thought forms, but for an explanation of the images and pictures in which the ideas of the Bible are expressed. These are specific to one culture, that of Israel and Judaism, and until they are fully understood in their original setting, little of what is done with the writings and ideas that came from that particular setting can be understood. Once we lose touch with the meaning of biblical imagery, we lose any way into the real meaning of the Bible. This has already begun to happen and a diluted “instant” Christianity has been offered as junk food for the mass market. The resultant malnutrition, even in churches, is all too obvious.²³

Consistent with Barker’s observations, many observers have documented a worldwide trend toward a religious mind-set that prizes emotion²⁴ and entertainment²⁵ as major staples of worship. Even when undertaken with evident sincerity, religious gatherings of this sort scarcely rise above the level of a “weekly social rite, a boost to our morale,”²⁶ with perhaps a few exhortations on ethics thrown in. When the Bible is consulted at all, it is too often “solely for its piety or

its inspiring adventures”²⁷ or its admittedly “memorable illustrations and contrasts” rather than its “deep memories” of spiritual understanding.²⁸ All this has resulted not only in a regrettable “secularization of religious symbolic language,”²⁹ but also in what Prothero calls a widespread “religious amnesia” that has dangerously weakened the foundations of faith.³⁰ Little wonder that the teaching of the central doctrines of the Gospel has been a significant focus of LDS Church leadership in recent years.³¹

Cautions and Encouragement in the Study of Temple Themes

Edward Beach summarizes William James’ remark that “there are two kinds of scholarly temperaments: those that dread above all the risk of possibly mistaking falsehoods for truths, and those that fear even more the risk of missing potentially valuable truths.”³² In my view, each of these temperaments has its place. For example, while the discussion of new ideas to be examined in the light of reason and inspiration is integral to the burden of religious scholarship, this approach is, on the other hand, generally inimical to the responsibilities assumed by those who teach in official Church capacities, where only the settled doctrines of the Church are to be advanced, and these “so plainly that no one can misunderstand.”³³

In this book—written by an amateur as a work of explorative interpretation rather than as an authority for use as a resource in Church instruction—special consideration has been given to many ancient texts from outside scripture about which there is still much to be learned. In particular, while many resemblances among ancient and modern sources have been exposed, it is a more difficult work to transform these parallels into “bridges” demonstrating how related ideas from widely scattered cultures and diverse eras could have been shared and transmitted.³⁴ Though the teachings and revelations of Joseph Smith demonstrate to my own satisfaction that archaic concepts and stories can be recovered in exceptional circumstances through divine revelation, the diffusion of ideas by more ordinary means is clearly the rule in history.

While an appropriate degree of scholarly tentativeness in conclusions supported by the use of texts originating in widely scattered cultures and eras is to be commended, this attitude must be balanced by the recognition of the dangers of what Nicolas Wyatt calls the “tendency to isolationism between different disciplines which might benefit from cross-fertilization.”³⁵ He observes that “discoveries emerging from... our universities require paradigm shifts almost as frequent as change of socks” and that “the boundaries of our present academic disciplines are administrative conveniences, established or at least maintained by university administrators, not scholars.”³⁶

Wyatt also reminds us that, although “full recognition of its historical context” is ultimately a requirement for the “legitimate use of the comparative approach,”³⁷ there is much more of a “recognizable continuity” in the religious cultures of other ages than we find in our own. Indeed, he writes, “given the huge weight of tradition as observed in the ancient world, the further back we go, the more conservative do we find cultural forms.”³⁸ Many archaic religious beliefs and practices, notably including temple-related traditions, remained unchanged in their broad outlines for thousands of years.³⁹

Wyatt further observes:⁴⁰

Those who are afraid to make mistakes will usually contribute little to the sum of human knowledge. They will play safe, never stepping out of line from the current view, never challenging the paradigm. Many volumes are published each year in which all that has been achieved is a slight rearrangement of the pieces on the board. Consensus is the order of the day. Real contributions are commonly made by those who are prepared to take the risk, and not only to challenge the consensus and rattle the bars of the paradigm-cage, but also to speculate and ask new questions about an old problem, and even identify new ones!

For we have come of age... There is no reason to fear the similar, or to argue that the barriers that have been half-consciously erected must be manned at all costs, to preserve the integrity of the disciplines. It is increasingly difficult to see them as anything more than conveniences, useful up to a point, but able to be called into question when larger patterns can be discerned. Patterns, and “patternism,” are the bane of some scholars. Certainly, if used in an uncritical way, glossing over significant differences, and over-emphasizing as fundamental those similarities which are to be judged rather as superficial, claims to see broader connections between apparently quite distinct phenomena are to be treated with the utmost caution. But caution is not to be confused with narrow-mindedness.

As one who relished the ongoing joys of bold scholarly pursuit more than the accolades of his less adventurous peers, Hugh Nibley famously responded to a reappraisal of his interpretation of one of the book of Abraham facsimiles:⁴¹

I refuse to be held responsible for anything I wrote more than three years ago. For heaven’s sake, I hope we are moving forward here. After all, the implication that one mistake and it is all over with?

How flattering to think in forty years I have not made one slip and I am still in business! I would say about four-fifths of everything I put down has changed, of course. That is the whole idea—this is an ongoing process.

Though the mission of religious scholarship embraces a broad scope of inquiry, it should never, of course, sanction “unlicensed and irresponsible speculation” or “falling in love with one’s own reason.”⁴² With respect to gospel-related “mysteries,” Truman G. Madsen wisely provides both caution and encouragement:⁴³

Some problems are 100-percent guaranteed insoluble for now. Many others, though not insoluble, are not of particular interest. But there are some mysteries, which the scriptures call “the mysteries of godliness,”⁴⁴ the deeper things, the richer things, and they are of which I suspect the Prophet spoke when he said, I beseech you go forward and “search deeper and deeper into the mysteries of Godliness.”⁴⁵ These are the mysteries you are to pursue....

The context for these remarks is the temple,⁴⁶ and temple learning requires more than abstract reflection. We are taught:⁴⁷ “These revelations, which are reserved for and taught only to the faithful Church members in sacred temples, constituted what are called the ‘mysteries of Godliness.’⁴⁸ The Lord said He had given to Joseph ‘the keys of the mysteries, and the revelations which are sealed.’⁴⁹ As a reward to the faithful, the Lord promised: ‘And to them will I reveal all mysteries, yea, all the hidden mysteries of my kingdom from days of old.’”⁵⁰

Hugh Nibley⁵¹ makes a similar point:

Not everything is incomprehensible to everybody: “It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given...”⁵² So we see that mystery is knowledge not known to some: “He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”⁵³ “Behold my beloved brethren, I will unfold this mystery unto you”⁵⁴... A people are condemned who “will not search knowledge, nor understand great knowledge, when it is given unto them in plainness.”⁵⁵ We make our own mysteries; we are not meant to be kept in darkness, and the mysteries of heaven will be unfolded to us as we make an effort to understand them.⁵⁶

Though I have written this book from the perspective of a believing and practicing member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I wish to make it clear that it is not an official publication of the Church, and that the views that are expressed are solely my own. Furthermore, I recognize that the nature of the subject matter has required my delving into many topics for which I claim no

INTRODUCTION

special expertise. Mistaken assertions, faulty matters of judgment, typographical errors, and editorial imperfections of many kinds have doubtless made their way into these pages. Thus, I gratefully welcome any corrections and suggestions, in the hope that improvements may be made in future editions.

It has been my prayer that this book, despite its insufficiencies, may be in its own way a worthy addition to the “great cloud of witnesses”⁵⁷ of the truthfulness of the restored gospel of Jesus Christ, and an encouragement to deeper study and appreciation of the book of Moses and the temple.

The revelation given to Joseph the Revelator June 1830
 The words of God which he ^{spoke} unto Moses at a time
 when Moses was caught up in to an exceeding high Mountain & he saw
 God face to face & he talked with him & the glory of God was upon Mo-
 ses. Therefore Moses could endure his presence & God spoke unto Mo-
 ses saying Behold I am the Lord God Almighty & I call thee by
 my name for I am without beginning of days or end of years & is that not
 endless & behold thou art my Son wherefore I call thee thus that thou know
 manhood of mine hands but not all for my work is without end & also my
 work is for ever & ever cease wherefore no man can behold all moments except he
 be held my glory & no man can behold all my glory & afterwards remain in the
 flesh & I had a work for thee Moses my Son & that art in similitude to me
 only begotten & mine only begotten is that he for he is full of grace & truth
 like to none other God to hide me & all things are present with me for I know
 them all And now behold this one thing I show unto thee Moses my
 Son for thou art in the world & now I show it thee And it came to
 pass that Moses looked & beheld the world upon which he was created is
 this I hold the record to the ends thereof & all the children of men which
 are & which were created of the same he greatly marvelled & wondered to
 see his works God with him from Moses that his glory was not upon
 Moses & Moses was left unto himself & as he was left unto himself
 he fell unto the Earth And it came to pass that at that time for the space
 of many hours before Moses did again receive his natural strength
 & when he was he said unto himself how for this could I know the
 work of God which thing I never had supposed but now mine eyes
 were opened but not mine eyes for mine eyes could not have been held for I
 had said I died in his presence that his glory was upon me & I
 held his face for I was transfigured before him And now it came to
 pass that when Moses had said these words he held Satan came to tempt
 him saying Moses Son of man worship me And it came to pass that
 Moses looked upon Satan & said What art thou for behold I am a
 Son of God in the similitude of his only begotten & where is thy glory that
 should worship thee for behold I could not look upon God except his
 glory should come upon me & I were transfigured before him but I can
 look upon thee in the natural man if not so surely blessed be the name
 of my God for his Spirit hath not ~~been~~ altogether withdrawn from me
 in else where is thy glory for it is blackness unto me & I can judge he that
 is like to God for God had unto me worship God for him only shall
 I adore & I will hence Satan decline me not for God said to
 thou art after the similitude of mine only begotten & he also gave
 me commandment when he called unto me out of the burning bush saying
 call upon God in the name of mine only begotten & worship me And again
 Moses said I will not cease to call upon God & I have other things to
 inquire of him for his glory has been upon me & it is glory unto me which I
 can judge he that is like to God shall depart hence Satan And now when Moses
 had said these words Satan said with a loud voice I will depart upon the Earth

Figure 1-1. Old Testament Manuscript 1 (OT1), page 1, 1830

1. The JST as Preparation for Temple Revelations

THE placement of the book of Moses in the Pearl of Great Price obscures the fact that it was actually produced as part of the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible, or JST. Moses 1 was dated June 1830—a time of great exuberance in the Church, but also a period of intense persecution for Joseph Smith. Like many of the Prophet’s revelations, the manuscript appears to have been flowingly dictated in a single setting. That the Prophet could find the time, strength, and inspiration necessary to receive and record this beautiful and complex account of the visions of Moses during such a busy and difficult period is a great wonder.⁵⁸

Though apparently the Lord did not find it imperative that the JST be published in its entirety during Joseph Smith’s lifetime, the revelations make it clear that it was an urgent priority that the Prophet undertake the translation itself. Why was this so?

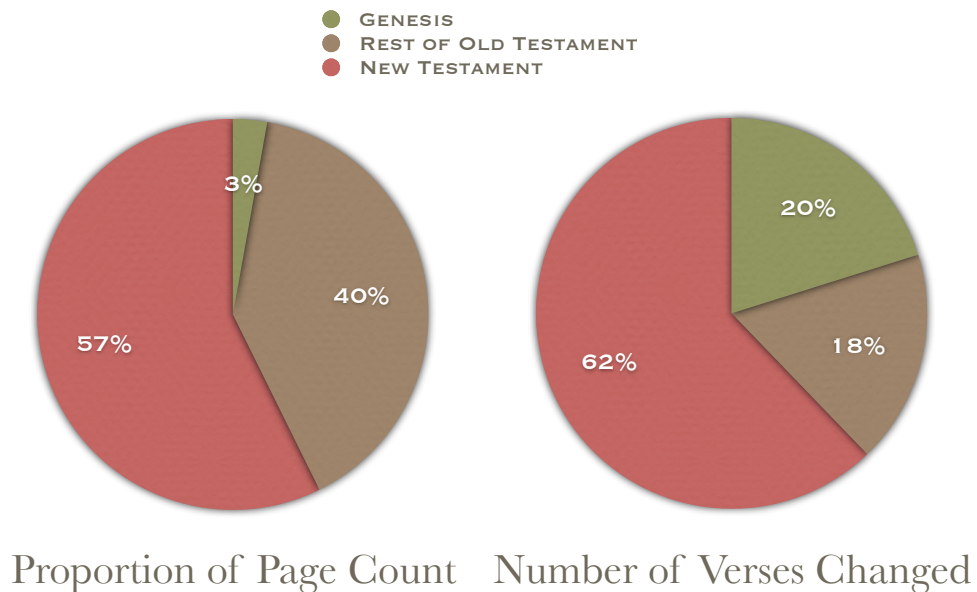
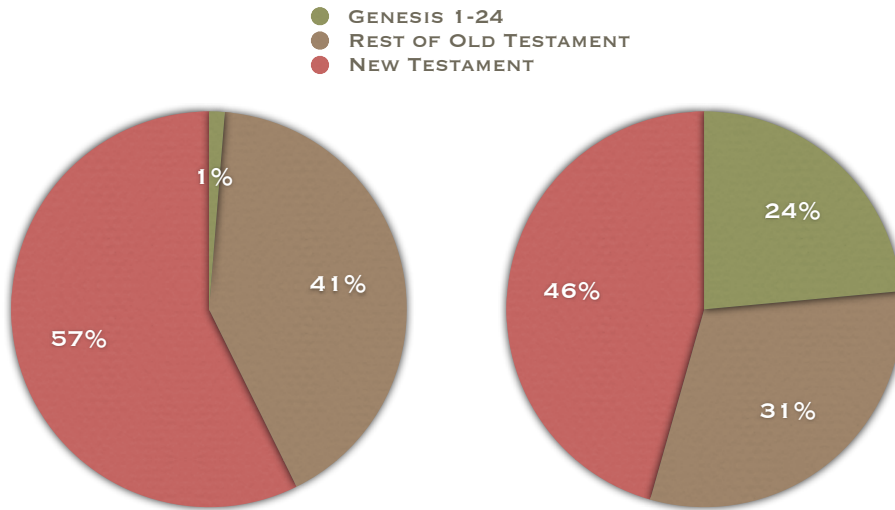


Figure 1-2. Distribution of Changes by Number of Revised Verses

A Close Look at Joseph Smith’s Translation Effort

A careful study of the history of Joseph Smith’s effort provides clues that may provide a partial answer to this question. His focus is made apparent by an examination of the overall translation results and schedule. For example, a close look at the number of verses modified in the translation process shows that a clear

priority was accorded to the book of Genesis, especially the first 24 chapters. Strikingly, more than half of the changed verses in the JST Old Testament and 20% of those in the entire JST Bible are contained in Moses 1 and Genesis. As a proportion of page count, changes in Genesis occur four times more frequently than in the New Testament, and twenty-one times more frequently than in the rest of the Old Testament. The changes in Genesis are not only more numerous, but also more significant in the degree of doctrinal and historical expansion.



Proportion of Page Count Duration of Translation Period

Figure 1-3. Distribution of Changes by Translation Time

Looking at it from the perspective of translation *time* rather than the number of revised verses, the same picture holds. By mid-1833, three years after the process of translation started, Joseph Smith felt the JST was sufficiently complete that preparations for publication could begin. The proportions at left represent the known durations of periods when each part of the translation was completed, with the first 24 chapters of Genesis occupying nearly a quarter of the total time for the entire Bible. Though we cannot know how much of Joseph Smith's daily schedule the translation occupied during each of its phases, it is obvious that Genesis 1-24, the first 1% of the Bible, must have received a significantly more generous share of the Prophet's time and attention than did the remaining 99%.

1. THE JST AS PREPARATION FOR TEMPLE REVELATIONS



Figure 1-4. Val Brinkerhoff, Nauvoo Temple

The Prophet's Careful Stewardship of Temple-Related Revelations

What important things could Joseph Smith have learned from translating Genesis 1-24? To begin with, the story of Enoch and his righteous city would have had pressing relevance to the mission of the Church, as the Prophet worked to help the Saints understand the law of consecration and to establish Zion in Missouri. Thus, it is no coincidence that this account was first published in 1832 and 1833. However, we should not allow the salience of these immediate events to overshadow the fact that the first JST Genesis chapters also relate the stories of other patriarchs, especially Adam, Noah, Melchizedek, and Abraham. In consideration of this fact, and other evidence from revelations and teachings of

this period, I have come to believe that the most significant impact of the translation process may have been the early tutoring in temple-related doctrines received by Joseph Smith as he revised and expanded Genesis 1-24, in conjunction with his later translation of relevant passages in the New Testament and, for example, Old Testament references to prophets such as Moses and Elijah.

A corollary, in making this argument, is that a detailed understanding of the covenants and sequences of blessings associated with current forms of LDS temple worship may have been revealed to Joseph Smith more than a decade before he began to teach them in plainness to the Saints in Nauvoo.⁵⁹ It has been generally supposed that in Kirtland the Prophet knew only a little about temple ordinances, and taught all of what he then knew to the Saints; and that when he got to Nauvoo the rest was revealed to him, and so he taught them something more. However, I think such a conclusion is mistaken. My study of the book of Moses and others of the initial revelations and teachings of Joseph Smith have convinced me that he knew early on much more about these matters than he taught publicly, contradicting the view of those who consider the temple ordinances a late invention.⁶⁰

Indeed, in a few cases, we know that the Prophet deliberately delayed the publication of early temple-related revelations connected with his work on the JST until the later Nauvoo period. For example, Bachman has convincingly argued that nearly all of D&C 132 was revealed to the Prophet as he worked on the first half of JST Genesis.⁶¹ This was more than a decade previous to 1843, when the revelation was first recorded. Likewise, Joseph Smith waited until 1843 to publish the first chapter of the book of Moses. In that revelation, he had been specifically commanded not to show it “unto any except them that believe.”⁶² Some of what the Prophet learned as he worked on the JST and other translation projects⁶³ may have never been put to writing.⁶⁴ Brigham Young is remembered as stating “that the Prophet before his death [spoke] about going through the translation of the scriptures again and perfecting it upon points of doctrine which the Lord had restrained him from giving in plainness and fulness at the time.”⁶⁵

Conclusions

The focus of Joseph Smith’s Bible translation effort, combined with evidence from other early revelations, suggests the importance of temple teachings from the very first years of his public ministry. Under the same spirit of revelation, the book of Moses can serve as a tutorial to all those who prize the temple in our day.

2. The Temple Pattern

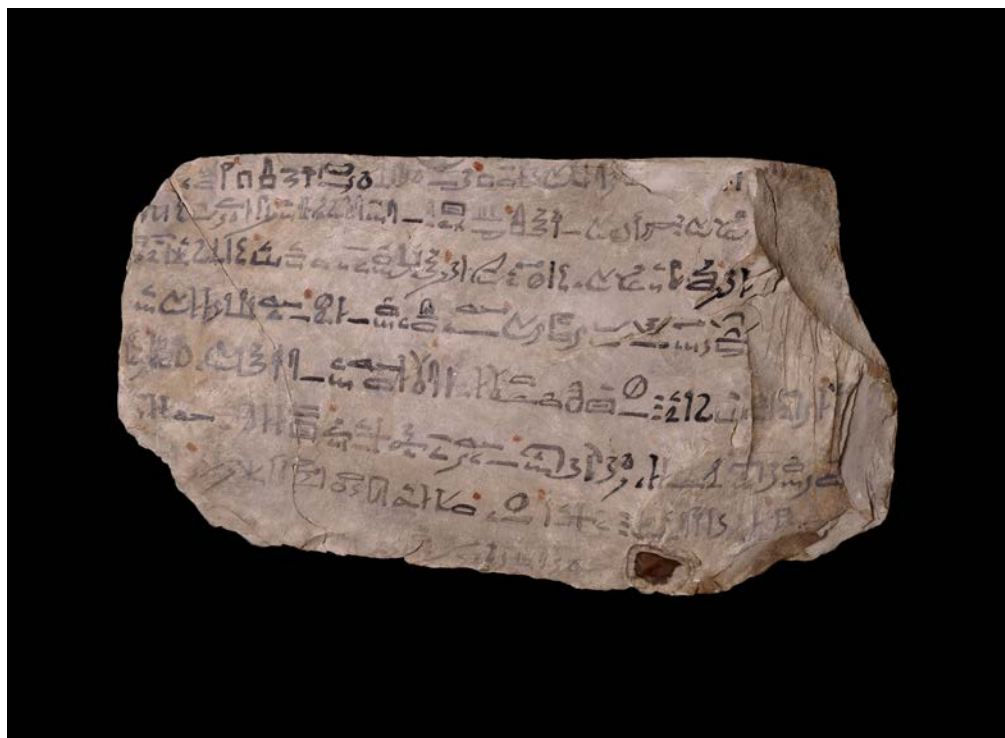


Figure 2-1. Ostrakon Containing the Final Eight Lines of the Tale of Sinuhe

THE story of Adam and Eve's departure from and return to the Garden of Eden parallels a common three-part pattern in ancient Near Eastern writings: trouble at home, exile abroad, and happy homecoming.⁶⁶ The pattern is as old as the Egyptian story of Sinuhe from 1800 BCE⁶⁷ and can be seen again in scriptural accounts of Israel's apostasy and return⁶⁸ as well as in the lives of biblical characters such as Jacob.⁶⁹ The theme appears in modern literature as often as it did in those times.⁷⁰

To the ancients, however, it was more than a mere storytelling convention, since it reflected a sequence of events common in widespread ritual practices for priests and kings.⁷¹ More generally, it is the story of the plan of salvation in miniature, as seen from the personal perspective. This pattern can be found in the Savior's masterful parable of the Prodigal Son.⁷² The life of Jesus Christ Himself also followed this pattern perfectly, though, unlike any ordinary mortal, He was without sin: "I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world: again, I leave the world, and go to the Father."⁷³

Margaret Barker describes how the thinking of early Christians applied this pattern to the story of Adam and Eve, and how it may have reflected their own hopes for a return to the original faith, the authentic priesthood, and the true temple:

The Christian vision reverses the story in Genesis 1-3, and has humans restored to Eden... Adam was remembered as the first high priest, and Jesus was described as the new Adam. The Christians remembered and hoped for the earlier Eden—the true temple—and saw themselves returning to the place and the priesthood from which they had been driven. This was their world view.⁷⁴

Throughout the rest of this book, I will call the three-part outline described above the *temple pattern*. Below, two examples of the pattern will be briefly described. Later chapters discuss further examples of the pieces of this pattern, or the pattern as a whole, as found in the book of Moses and other ancient literature about the Creation and the story of Adam and Eve.

O My Father

No poem expresses the theme of mankind's mortal passage more movingly than Eliza R. Snow's *O My Father*.⁷⁵

O my Father, thou that dwellest
In the high and glorious place;
When shall I regain thy presence,
And again behold thy face?

In thy holy habitation
Did my spirit once reside?
In my first primeval childhood
Was I nurtured near thy side?

For a wise and glorious purpose
Thou hast plac'd me here on earth,
And withheld the recollection
Of my former friends and birth:

Yet oft times a secret something
Whispered you're a stranger here;
And I felt that I had wandered
From a more exalted sphere.

2. THE TEMPLE PATTERN



Figure 2-2. John Hafen, 1856-1910: *Thou Hast Plac'd Me Here on Earth*, 1908

I had learned to call thee father
Through thy spirit from on high;
But until the key of knowledge
Was restor'd, I knew not why.

In the heav'ns are parents single?
No, the thought makes reason stare;
Truth is reason—truth eternal
Tells me I've a mother there.

When I leave this frail existence—
When I lay this mortal by,
Father, mother, may I meet you
In your royal court on high?

Then, at length, when I've completed
All you sent me forth to do,
With your mutual approbation
Let me come and dwell with you.

Jill Mulvay Derr, who has eloquently described the “form, feeling, and theology” of the poem, writes the following:

While the movement of the poem is clearly from premortal to mortal to postmortal existence through time linear, there is a roundness to it, reflecting God’s “eternal round”⁷⁶ and providing a deep sense of continuity and connection...

For Saints who had been feasting upon the doctrines taught by the Prophet Joseph Smith, Eliza’s poem did not call up literary complexities, but rather evoked the plan of salvation in its entirety: the existence of intelligences, the council in heaven, the foreordained mission of Jesus Christ and of each individual, the possibility of godhood, and an everlasting union of man and woman with eternal increase. It elicited a sense of intimacy with God. It pointed to truths emphasized in the temple endowment, which the Saints would begin to receive in the nearly completed Nauvoo Temple less than a month after the poem appeared.⁷⁷

The Hymn of the Pearl

Shown at right, Randie Snow’s sculpture entitled *Hymn of the Pearl*, like other works in her repertoire of “haiku assemblages,” juxtaposes diverse objects of beauty and invites the viewer to reconsider their relative worth. The title comes the name commonly given to a third-century text which Welch and Garrison aptly describe as “an ancient counterpart to ‘O My Father.’”⁷⁸ It appears as part of a larger work of New Testament Apocrypha called the *Acts of Thomas*⁷⁹ and was very popular among early Christians. Briefly, the story describes heavenly parents who send their son on a journey to recover a pearl. The pearl represents his soul. They clothe him with special clothing and give him special food. While on his journey (which represents earth life), he forgets his mission. They send a messenger who causes him to remember his mission, and he returns to receive heavenly glory and to live again with his divine parents.

Hugh Nibley summarizes the story while also detailing how, in its larger context, it was consistent with other ancient literature that described every soul’s journey through life:⁸⁰

In coming to earth each man leaves his particular treasure, or his share of the Treasure, behind him in heaven, safely kept in trust (“under God’s throne”) awaiting his return.⁸¹ One has here below the opportunity of enhancing one’s treasure in heaven by meritorious actions, and also the risk of losing it entirely by neglecting it in his search for earthly treasure.⁸² Hence the passionate appeals to men to remember their tremendous stake on the other

side and “not to defraud themselves of the glory that awaits them” by seeking the things of the world.⁸³



Figure 2-3. Randie Snow, 1965-, Hymn of the Pearl, 2009

To make the “treasure” test a fair one, the two treasures are placed before us on an equal footing (the doctrine of the Two Ways), their two natures being mingled in exactly equal portions in every human being.⁸⁴ To neutralize what would otherwise be the overpowering appeal of the heavenly treasure, the memory of its former glories has been erased from the mind of man, which is thus in a state of equilibrium, enjoying by “the ancient law of liberty” complete freedom to choose whatever it will.⁸⁵ In this state, whatever choice is made represents the true heart and mind of the one who makes it. What conditions the Elect to make the right choice is no unfair advantage of instruction—for all men are aware of the issues involved—but a besetting nostalgia, a constant vague yearning for one’s distant treasure and happy heavenly home. This theme, akin to the Platonic doctrine of *anamnesis*,⁸⁶ runs through all the Apocrypha and scriptures; it is beautifully expressed in the *Hymn of the Pearl* from the *Acts of Thomas*.⁸⁷

In this classic tale, a king’s son has come down to earth to find a pearl which he is to return to its heavenly depository; here below he becomes defiled with the things of the world until a letter from heaven, signed by all the Great and

Mighty Ones, recalls to him his true heritage and his purpose in coming to earth, whereupon he casts off his earthly garments and with the pearl returns to the waiting arms of his loved ones in the royal courts on high and to his robe of glory that has been carefully kept for him in the Treasury.

Our various “treasure” texts consistently refer to going to heaven as a return, a joyful homecoming, in which one follows the steps of Adam “back to the Treasury of Life from which he came forth.”⁸⁸ A great deal is said about a garment that one changes in passing from one stage to another, the final garment of glory being often equated to the Treasure itself.⁸⁹ This garment introduces us to the very important ritual aspect of the treasure story, for it is generally understood that one can return to one’s heavenly treasure only by the careful observance of certain rites and ordinances, which provide the means both of receiving instruction and demonstrating obedience. In the Mandaean economy the ordinances are the Treasure, the knowledge of the proper procedures being the very knowledge by which the elements are controlled and the spirit of man exalted.⁹⁰

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have outlined the temple pattern, and examined illustrations drawn from scripture, inspired poetry, and the *New Testament Apocrypha*. The next chapter explores how recognition of the elements of this pattern can illuminate the story of Moses’ vision, as well as companion accounts of heavenly ascents in sources from outside the scriptures.

3. The Vision of Moses as a Heavenly Ascent

Co-Authored with David J. Larsen

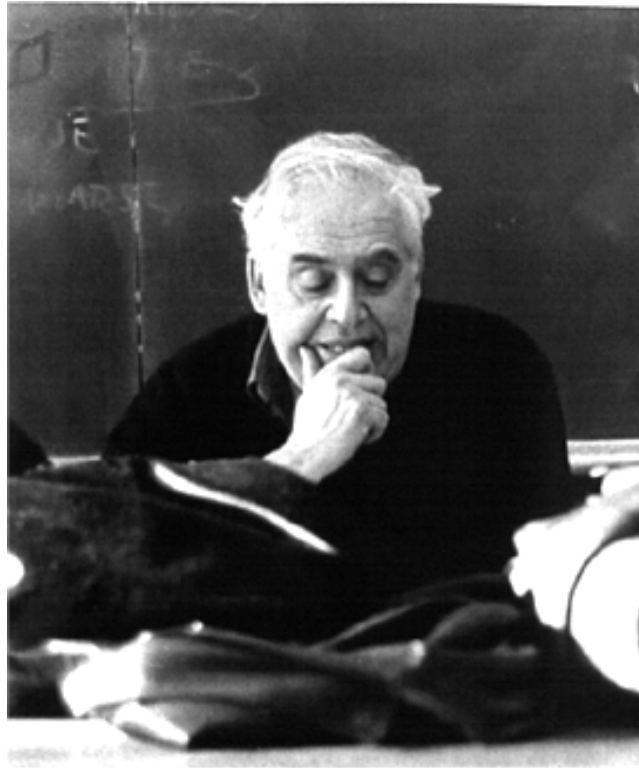


Figure 3-1. Harold Bloom, 1930-

THE eminent Yale professor and Jewish literary scholar Harold Bloom has called the book of Moses and the book of Abraham two of the “more surprising” and “neglected” works of LDS scripture.⁹¹ With the great spate of publications over the decades since fragments of Egyptian papyri were rediscovered in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁹² we have begun to see a remedy for the previous neglect of the book of Abraham.⁹³ Now, gratefully, because of wider availability of the original manuscripts and new detailed studies of their contents, the book of Moses is also beginning to receive its due.⁹⁴

What did Professor Bloom find so “surprising” in the book of Moses? He said he was intrigued by the fact that many of its themes are “strikingly akin to ancient suggestions.” While expressing “no judgment, one way or the other, upon the authenticity” of LDS scripture, he found “enormous validity” in the way these writings “recapture... crucial elements in the archaic Jewish religion.... that had ceased to be available either to normative Judaism or to Christianity, and that

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

survived only in esoteric traditions unlikely to have touched [Joseph] Smith directly.”⁹⁵ In other words, Professor Bloom found it a great wonder that Joseph Smith could have come up with, on his own, a modern book that resembles so closely ancient Jewish and Christian teachings.

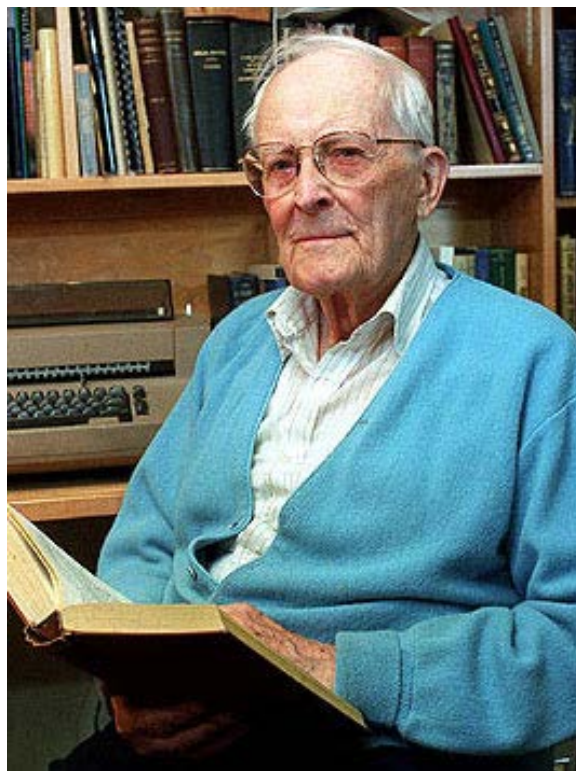


Figure 3-2. Hugh W. Nibley, 1910-2005

Hugh Nibley’s assessment of the genius that shines forth in the Pearl of Great Price also bears repeating:

Was there ever a more daring example of extreme scholarship than Joseph Smith’s announcement of the forthcoming publication of his translation of the Book of Mormon from the gold plates to which he had been introduced by an angel? In less time than it takes a college student to produce a respectable term paper and after devastating advance notices in the press, the twenty-five-year-old dirt farmer from upstate New York had prepared a 588-page book covering every major aspect in the life of an ancient civilization over a period of one thousand years and was diligent in placing it in the hands of an invincibly hostile public.

The answer to our opening question, by the way, is “Yes, there was another even bolder venture: five years later when Smith surpassed his first effort by laying out firsthand accounts by the ancient leaders of the seven major dispensations of sacred history.”⁹⁶ The separate histories range in length from single chapters to eleven pages (five chapters) of the book of Abraham. The books of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Joseph Smith, each giving a firsthand account of his dispensation, may now be challenged and tested by a library of ancient apocryphal writings, which Géza Vermès calls “The Rewritten Bible.” In a time when those apocryphal writings were almost totally unknown to the world, Joseph Smith could be his usual unshakably confident self; but today we have the library of texts to support or refute him.⁹⁷

After all these years it comes as a surprise for me to learn that the book of Moses appeared in the same year as the publication of the Book of Mormon, the first chapter being delivered in the very month of its publication. And it is a totally different kind of book, in another style, from another world. It puts to rest the silly arguments about who really wrote the Book of Mormon, for whoever produced the book of Moses would have been even a greater genius....

Was the great last dispensation to be brought on with old shopworn forms and ceremonies? A dispensation is a period of the world's history during which the church of God with its covenants and ordinances is upon the earth; in the apocalyptic scheme of things it is a comparatively brief period of light following a long period of darkness. What would be an appropriate ensign to announce and inaugurate such a happy time? The single civilization that embraces the world today, whichever way it turns, sees only itself, a great all-confining cliché in which one can think only of what is being thought and do only what is being done. It cannot even imagine a new dispensation, let alone supply one. Like a heavy galleon it labors on into ever deepening gloom, prodded on its way from time to time by promising puffs of a New Order, New Method, New Education, New Deal, New Life, New Cure, New Light, New Way, etc., but ever and again losing momentum as the fleeting winds quickly blow themselves out, leaving the old scow to wallow on as best it may towards the dawn of nothing... From what source can we look for comfort? From none on this distracted globe.

It came from the outside, the Mormons said: The long, long silence was broken by an angel from on high. At once the whole world exploded in one long hoot of derision—adequate witness to the total novelty of the thing; here was something utterly alien and retrograde to everything the world taught

and believed... [No one could] be asked to take him seriously were it not that he came before an unbelieving world with boundless riches in his hands.⁹⁸

Having spent the last few years in focused study of this inspired work of scripture, I have also been astonished with the extent to which its words reverberate with the echoes of antiquity—and, no less significantly, with the deepest truths of my personal experience. Indeed, I would not merely assert that the book of Moses holds up well under close examination, but rather that, like a fractal whose self-similar patterns become more wondrous upon ever closer inspection, the brilliance of its inspiration shines most impressively under bright light and high magnification: there is glory in the details.

A prime example of such inspiration is Moses 1, one of the most remarkable chapters in scripture. Though it serves as a superb introduction to succeeding chapters that describe the Creation and the Fall, its separate prologue⁹⁹ and epilogue¹⁰⁰ signal its status as a revelation that can stand apart on its own. The events described apparently took place sometime after Jehovah called Moses out of the burning bush¹⁰¹ but before he had returned to Egypt to deliver the children of Israel.¹⁰²

Though several of the individual episodes in the chapter are very well known—Moses' confrontation with Satan, his comprehensive vision of the earth and all its inhabitants, and God's declaration about his "work and glory"—how all these pieces join beautifully into a coherent whole has been generally underappreciated by scripture readers. It is now quite evident, however, that the outline of events in Moses 1 fits squarely in the tradition of ancient "heavenly ascent" literature and its relationship to temple theology, rites, and ordinances.¹⁰³ It is significant that this account was revealed to Joseph Smith more than a decade before the full temple endowment was administered to others in Nauvoo.

Heavenly Ascent in the Ancient World

Although stories of heavenly ascent bear important similarities to temple practices, they make the claim of being something more. While ancient temple rituals dramatically depict a figurative journey into the presence of God, the ascent literature tells the stories of prophets who experience actual encounters with Deity within the *heavenly* temple—the "completion or fulfillment" of the "types and images" in earthly priesthood ordinances.¹⁰⁴ In such encounters, the prophet may experience a vision of eternity, participation in worship with the angels, and the conferral of certain blessings that are "made sure" by the voice of God Himself.¹⁰⁵



Figure 3-3. Guardians Part the Veils and Admit Muhammad to the Throne of God

For example, such an experience is reported in traditions about Muhammad. Doubting Meccans had asked that he “confirm the authenticity of his prophethood by ascending to heaven and there receiving a holy book... In this, he was to conform to a model illustrated by many still extant legends... regarding Enoch, Moses, Daniel, Mani, and many other messengers who had risen to heaven, met God, and received from his right hand a book of scripture containing the revelation they were to proclaim.”¹⁰⁶ During his “night journey” (*isra*), the angel Gabriel mounted him on Buraq, a winged steed, that “took him to the horizon” and then, in an instant, to the temple mount in Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ At the Gate of the Guard, Ishmael “asks Muhammad’s name and inquires whether he is indeed a true messenger.”¹⁰⁸ After having given a satisfactory answer, Muhammad was permitted to gradually ascend from the depths of hell to the highest of the seven heavens on a golden ladder (*mi’raj*).¹⁰⁹ At the gates of the Celestial Temple, a guardian angel again “ask[ed] who he [was]. Gabriel introduce[d] Muhammad, who [was] then allowed to enter the gardens of Paradise.”¹¹⁰

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The heavenly journeys described in accounts attributed to prophets and mystics have been mirrored in ritual since time immemorial, especially in practices relating to the initiation of kings. All evidence seems to indicate “a broad continuity of culture throughout the Levant”¹¹¹ wherein the candidate for kingship underwent a ritual journey intended to confer a divine status as a son of God¹¹² and allowing him “*ex officio*, direct access to the gods. All other priests were strictly deputies.”¹¹³ Scholars have long debated the meaning of scattered fragments of rituals of sacral kingship in the Old Testament, especially in the Psalms.¹¹⁴ Findings at Qumran and Dura Europos suggest that in at least some strands of Jewish tradition these rituals were democratized, enabling members of the community to participate in what Fletcher-Louis calls an “angelomorphic priesthood” and a routinized form of transformational worship that ritually brought them into the presence of God.¹¹⁵

In contrast to texts that describe, whether in vision or ritual form, a temporary ascent of the living to heaven followed by a return to earth, Ginzberg summarizes Jewish traditions about the soul’s eventual ascent to heaven after death. One difference between Ginzberg’s account and the story of Muhammad is that the Garden of Eden or Paradise is depicted as a mere waystation rather than a permanent resting place: “the souls of all men must pass through it after death, before they reach their final destination”¹¹⁶:

For the souls of the departed must go through seven portals before they arrive in the heaven 'Arabot. There the souls of the pious are transformed into angels, and there they remain forever, praising God and feasting their sight upon the glory of the *Shekinah* [= the divine Presence]. The first portal is the Cave of Machpelah, in the vicinity of Paradise, which is under the care and supervision of Adam. If the soul that presents herself at the portal is worthy, he calls out, “Make room! Thou art welcome!” The soul then proceeds until she arrives at the gate of Paradise guarded by the cherubim and the flaming sword. If she is not found worthy, she is consumed by the sword; otherwise she receives a pass-bill, which admits her to the terrestrial Paradise. Therein is a pillar of smoke and light extending from Paradise to the gate of heaven, and it depends upon the character of the soul whether she can climb upward on it and reach heaven. The third portal, Zebul, is at the entrance of heaven. If the soul is worthy, the guard opens the portal and admits her to the heavenly Temple. Michael presents her to God, and conducts her to the seventh portal, 'Arabot, within which the souls of the pious, changed to angels, praise the Lord, and feed on the glory of the *Shekinah*.

Manichaean sources explicitly assert that the rituals performed while in life prefigure the actions that disciples will perform after death when, “at the time of

their coming forth... the angel who holds the victory prize extends to him the right hand. And it draws him out of the abyss of his body, and accepts him in with the kiss and love.” That soul “shall be perfected and increased... in the household of the living ones, with the gods and the angels and all the apostles and the chosen. And he receives the crown [...] glory in the life for ever.”¹¹⁷

The Structure of Moses 1

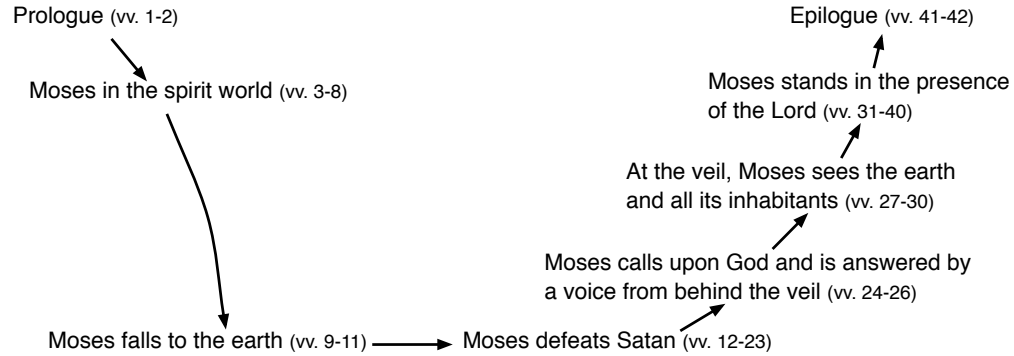


Figure 3-4. The Structure of Moses 1

Consistent with the basic temple pattern and stories of heavenly ascent, Moses’ account tells of how he descends in vision from his first home in the spirit world and then undertakes a step-by-step return to the Father.

Prologue. Verses 1-2 provide the kind of opening that Turner calls an “announcement of plot”¹¹⁸—not an account of what is happening at the moment, but rather a brief anticipatory summary of the principal events of the rest of the story. In this case, the prologue describes how Moses will be “caught up” to “an exceedingly high mountain” where he will receive the glory of God and, after conversing with Him face to face, will enter into His presence.¹¹⁹

Moses in the spirit world (vv. 3-8). Following the prologue, Moses is given a description of God’s attributes and a confirmation of his call to a work to which he had previously been foreordained as a son of God in the similitude of the Only Begotten.¹²⁰ He is then shown the “world upon which he was created”—referring to the preexistent spirit realm—and “all the children of men which are, and which were created”—paralleling the view of organized intelligences given to Abraham.¹²¹

Moses falls to the earth (vv. 9-11). Having left the presence of God and no longer being clothed with His glory, Moses falls to the earth—meaning, first, that he collapsed in weakness, and, second, that he descended again to the relative darkness of the telestial world, thus recapitulating the journey of Adam and Eve

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

and “landing,” as Nibley puts it, “as a natural man.”¹²² Moses is then left to himself to be tested in a dramatic encounter with Satan.¹²³

Moses defeats Satan (vv. 12-23). Prefiguring his later encounter with Christ in the wilderness, Satan tempts Moses—now in a physically weakened state—to worship him. A context of priesthood ordinances is implied. For example, having banished Satan through the power of the Only Begotten (a motif linked in ancient sources to baptism), Moses is “filled with the Holy Ghost.”¹²⁴

Moses calls upon God and is answered by a voice from behind the heavenly veil (vv. 24-26). Continuing to press forward, Moses “calls upon the name of God” in sacred prayer. Since the moment he “fell to the earth,” Moses could no longer speak face to face with the Lord, having been “shut out from his presence.”¹²⁵ Following his prayer, however, Moses is answered by a voice from behind the heavenly veil enumerating specific blessings.¹²⁶ In his discussion of early Christian and Jewish temple rituals, Tvedtnes notes that “prayer opens the veil to allow one to enjoy the presence of God.”¹²⁷

At the heavenly veil, Moses sees the earth and all its inhabitants (vv. 27-30). While “the voice is still speaking,” Moses is permitted to see the inside surface of the heavenly veil and there beholds every particle of the earth, all of its inhabitants, and “many lands; ... each ... called earth.”¹²⁸

Moses stands in the presence of the Lord (vv. 31-40). The culminating sequence of the vision begins in verse 31 when Moses, having continued to inquire of the Lord,¹²⁹ comes to stand in His presence. God speaks with Moses face to face, describing His purposes for this earth and its inhabitants.¹³⁰ Moses is then shown the events of the Creation, the Fall, and how the Plan of Redemption was given to Adam and Eve, as recorded in chapters 2-5 of the book of Moses.

Parallels to Moses 1 in the Apocalypse of Abraham

Building on the earlier work of Jared Ludlow¹³¹ and Hugh Nibley,¹³² David Larsen and I are exploring significant relationships between the first chapter of the book of Moses and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.¹³³ The *Apocalypse of Abraham* recounts the visionary journey of Abraham to the highest heaven, where he learns the secrets of Creation and is given a grand vision that includes a history of the world and a view of the spirits that existed with God before the Creation.

The document is thought to be Jewish in origin, though it has been preserved by Christian hands.¹³⁴ It is noteworthy that the first publication of an English translation was in the Church’s *Improvement Era* magazine in 1898.¹³⁵

This picture shows the first page of a rare facsimile edition of the *Codex Sylvester* (*Silvestrov svod*), the oldest and the only independent manuscript with the full text of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. It is written in Old Slavonic and dates to the 14th century. Most scholars date the composition of the original Hebrew or Aramaic text to within a few decades of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, though it may contain traditions that are older.

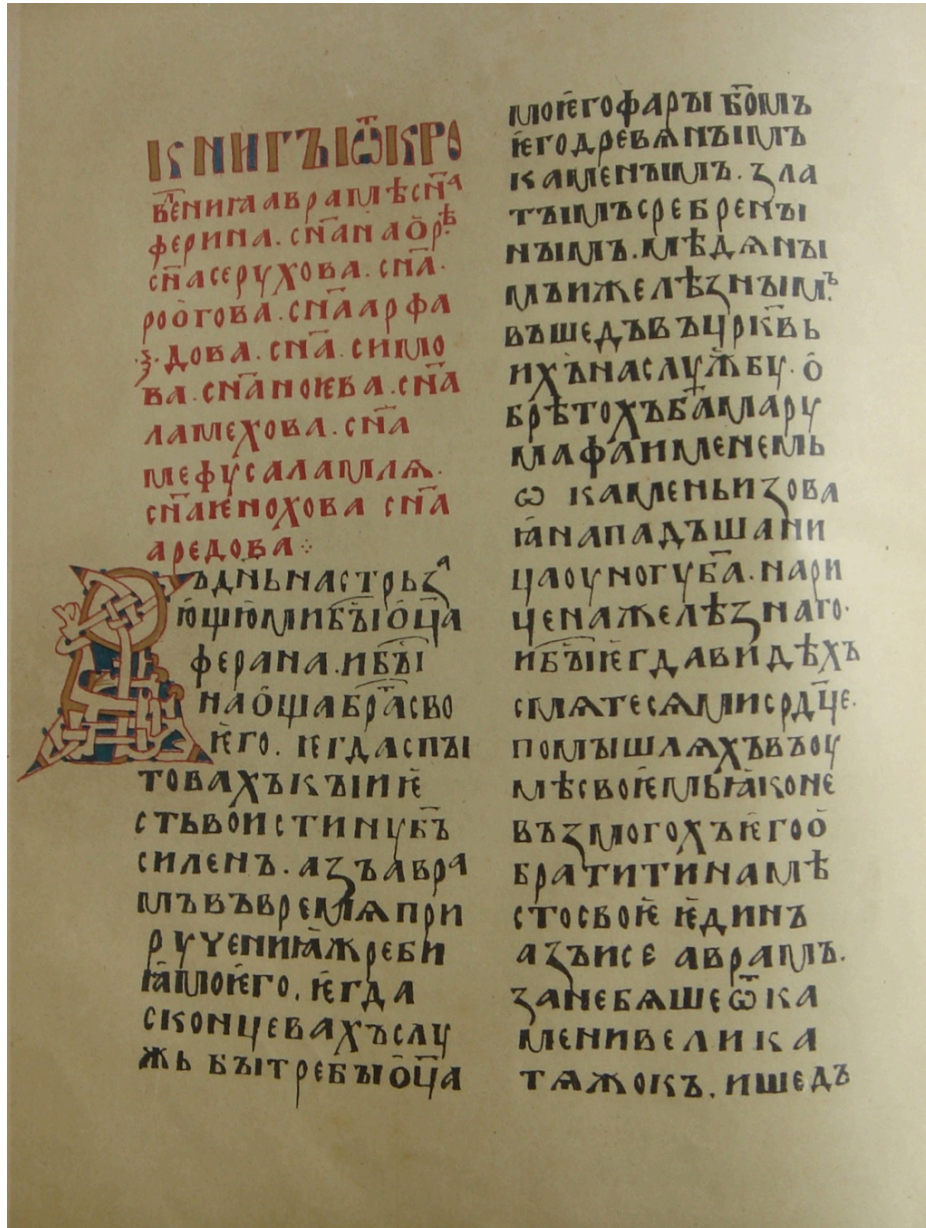


Figure 3-5. First Page of the Sylvester Codex, 14th century



Figure 3-6. The House of Terah Destroyed By Fire

One of the unique features of the *Codex Sylvestri* is its series of beautiful color illustrations. In addition to the original manuscript kept in Moscow, Russia, I have been able to find only two copies of the facsimile edition¹³⁶ containing the illustrations—one located in Munich and the other in Oxford. Though one of the illustrations previously appeared in an article by Hugh Nibley,¹³⁷ so far as I have been able to learn, the full set of six illustrations has not appeared in print for more than a century. The illustrations are valuable because they shed light on how medieval Christians in the East understood the text. In a few significant cases, it is clear that these Christians interpreted these stories differently than the first- or second-century editor of the text.

The illustration above accompanies a story about how Abraham's father Terah's house was destroyed by fire from heaven because he persisted in idol worship.¹³⁸ Abraham, a nimbus surrounding his head, stands at left wearing a green robe on his left shoulder indicating his priestly status. Note the crescent moon on the blue half-orb at the top representing God's presence. We do not yet understand why the moon appears here, though a colleague has suggested an influence from the Bogomils, a Christian sect that had previously flourished in the region where the manuscript was composed.¹³⁹



Figure 3-7. Abraham with Sacrificial Animals

Above, Abraham appears with a group of sacrificial animals.¹⁴⁰ His robe now covers both of his shoulders. Deity forms a two-handed gesture. This may be related to the practice in ancient Israel, where the high priest transferred the sins of the people to the scapegoat in a ritual action involving both hands.¹⁴¹

The figure at right is Yahoel, an Angel of the Presence, whose name connotes the “Lord God,” the Divine Name, and whose body, face, and hair are also reminiscent of God Himself.¹⁴² The turban, blue robe, and golden staff recall a royal high-priestly figure.¹⁴³

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

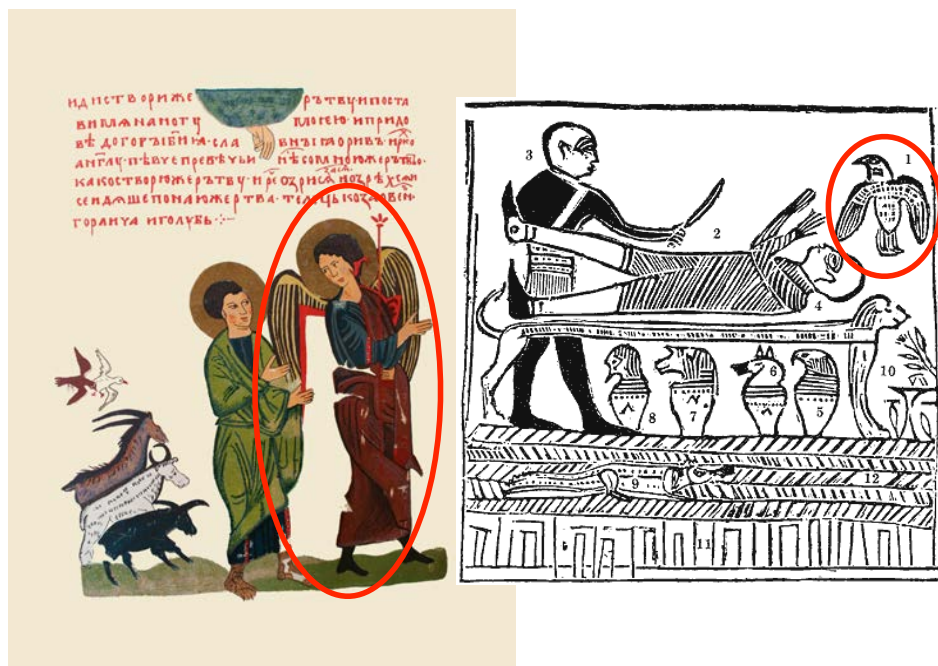


Figure 3-8. Winged Yahoel Compared with Abraham Facsimile 1, Figure 1

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* describes Yahoel as both man and bird.¹⁴⁴ In this and related texts, other angelic beings, including Satan, are also described as birds.¹⁴⁵ This is shown to be an intriguing detail in light of the depiction of “the Angel of the Lord” on the far right of Facsimile 1 of the book of Abraham as a bird.¹⁴⁶ In the book of Abraham, the young prophet is saved by “the angel of his presence,” who declares himself to be Jehovah.¹⁴⁷

We now examine in detail specific phrase-by-phrase parallels, both in specific wording and overall structure, between the two texts.

Prologue

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Setting	an exceedingly high mountain (1:1)	a high mountain (9:8)
Sacrifice	Cf. Abraham: ... revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar (Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 2)	Go... and set out for me a pure sacrifice (9:5)

Figure 3-9. Parallels for the *Prologue* (Moses 1:1-2)



Figure 3-10. Abraham's Sacrifice Is Accepted of the Lord

Like the book of Moses, the first chapter of the *Apocalypse* proper begins with a scene on a high mountain. As Thomas observes, the essential thing in such accounts is to suggest “a place that is suitably high for temple activity.”¹⁴⁸ In the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the mountain is a place of sacrifice.

The prophet once again wears his robe in priestly fashion as he performs the sacrifice.¹⁴⁹ In contrast to the blast of flames that destroyed the house of Terah, the divine fire that consumes the sacrifice in this illustration denotes God's approval and acceptance. Note the gesture of blessing shown by the hand of God, which reaches through the veil of the heavens. In this instance, the veil is decorated with a single star or sun.

Consistent with the ancient pseudepigraphal book, the LDS book of Abraham states that knowledge about the “key of power... pertaining to other planets” was “revealed from God to Abraham, as he offered sacrifice upon an altar, which he had built unto the Lord.”¹⁵⁰ Though not explicitly detailed in scripture, it is easy to imagine that Moses might have also offered sacrifice on the mountain prior to receiving his vision.¹⁵¹

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The Prophet in the Spirit World

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Aretology	the Lord God Almighty, Endless (1:3)	the primordial and mighty God (9:3)
God to show a vision of eternity	I will show thee the workmanship of my hands (1:4)	I shall set before you the ages (9:6)
Reason for God's favor	Cf. Abraham: Thy servant has sought thee earnestly (Abraham 2:12)	since you loved to search for me (9:6)
The prophet is commissioned	I have a work for thee, Moses, my son (1:6)	I called you my friend (9:6)

Figure 3-11. Parallels for Moses in the Spirit World (Moses 1:3-6)

In both the book of Moses and the *Apocalypse*, the prophet is given a description of God's majesty, called an *aretology*. Because the two prophets have found God's favor, they receive a special title and commission,¹⁵² and will be allowed to see a vision of eternity.

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Vision of the spirit world	Moses... beheld the world upon which he was created... and all the children of men which are, and which were created (1:8)	And I saw there a great crowd of men, and women, and children... I gave them a command... and they came into being (21:7, 22:2; cf. 9:9)
Some of the spirits are chosen	Cf. Abraham: among all these were many of the noble and great ones... These I will make my rulers (Abraham 3:22, 23)	half of them on the right side... and half of them on the left... Those on the right side... are the people set apart... to be born of you and to be called my people (21:7, 22:5)

Figure 3-12. Parallels for Moses in the Spirit World (Moses 1:8; Abr. 3:22-23)

In both Moses 1 and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* the prophet is promised a view of the things of eternity. Though in somewhat different sequence, both accounts include a vision of the spirit world. The book of Moses says that he is next shown the “world upon which he was created”—referring to the preexistent spirit realm—and “all the children of men which are, and which were created.” Likewise, in the *Apocalypse*, Abraham will be shown “a great crowd of men, and women, and children” before they “came into being.”¹⁵³

In the book of Abraham, the Lord points out the many “noble and great ones” that were chosen before they were born.¹⁵⁴ Likewise, in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, a premortal group of spirits is “set apart... to be born of [Abraham]” and to be called “[God’s] people.”¹⁵⁵

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The Prophet Falls to the Earth

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Fall and loss of strength	Moses... fell unto the earth... And... it was for the space of many hours before Moses did receive his natural strength (1:9-11)	I... fell down upon the earth, for there was no longer strength in me (10:1-3)

Figure 3-13. Parallels for Moses Falls to the Earth (Moses 1:9-11)

Following their initial vision, both prophets experience a “fall to the earth” that leaves them vulnerable to the will of the Adversary.¹⁵⁶ Abraham is made to say: “I... fell down upon the earth, for there was no longer strength in me,” closely paralleling the words of Moses 1 where “he fell unto the earth” and lost his “natural strength.”¹⁵⁷

While you or I might have quickly skimmed over this scene, thinking it of little interest, it was clearly a significant event to the illustrator, who found it important enough to merit a separate visual depiction.¹⁵⁸ The scene shows Abraham being raised up out of sleep—or perhaps death¹⁵⁹—by the hand of Yahoel, who, using the right hand, lifts him firmly by the wrist.¹⁶⁰ The rays emanating from hand of God¹⁶¹ impart the spirit of life, recalling the creation of Adam, when God breathed... the breath of life” into the first man, and he became “a living soul.”¹⁶²

Reinforcing the interpretation of this scene from the visions of Moses and Abraham are parallel depictions of the resurrected Christ raising up the dead by the same gesture.



Figure 3-14. Abraham Falls to the Earth and Is Raised by Yahoe



Figure 3-15. The Harrowing of Hell. The Barberini Exultet Roll, ca. 1087

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The Prophet Defeats Satan

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Satan disrupts the worship of God	Satan came tempting him, saying: Moses, son of man, worship me (1:12)	And the impure bird flew down... and said, “What are you doing, ...Leave [Yahoel] and flee! (13:4-5)
Satan’s identity is questioned	Moses... said: Who art thou? (1:13)	I said to the angel, “What is this, my lord?” And he said, “This... is [Satan]” (13:6)
Satan contrasted with the prophet	I am a son of God... and where is thy glory, that I should worship thee? ...I can look upon thee in the natural man (1:13, 14)	[Yahoel]: “Reproach on you, [Satan]! Since Abraham’s portion is in heaven, and yours is on earth (13:7)

Figure 3-16. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:12-14)

Prefiguring his later encounter with Christ in the wilderness,¹⁶³ Satan tempts the prophet—in his physically weakened state—to worship him. Satan’s attempt to disguise his identity is made apparent. Lacking both divine glory and heavenly inheritance, the Devil is easily and humiliateingly exposed.

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Satan told to depart and cease his deception	Get thee hence, Satan; deceive me not (1:16)	Depart from [Abraham]! You cannot deceive him (13:12-13)
The prophet received the glory that Satan lost	God said unto me [Moses]: Thou art after the similitude of mine Only Begotten (1:16)	the garment which in heaven which was formerly yours [Satan’s] has been set aside for [Abraham] (13:14)
Satan told to depart a second time	Depart hence, Satan (1:18)	vanish from before me! (14:7)

Figure 3-17. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:16-18)

In almost identical words, the book of Moses and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* relate that Satan is told to depart and cease his deception. Satan is reminded that the glory he once possessed now belongs to Moses and Abraham. Moses' words constitute a second "humiliating exposure of Satan"—an announcement that Moses "actually *is* what his adversary falsely *claims* to be."¹⁶⁴ In both texts, Satan is forcefully told a second time to depart.

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Satan's final attempt to gain the prophet's worship	Satan cried with a loud voice, ...saying: I am the Only Begotten, worship me (1:19)	[Satan] said, "Abraham!" ... And the angel said to me, "Answer him not!" (14:9-10)
Satan's frightening tantrum and final departure	Moses... commanded, saying: Depart from me, Satan... And now Satan began to tremble (1:21)	Cf. Enoch: "And Enoch said to [Satan], Depart! ... Then he departed and spoke to all of [his followers]... and trembling... seized them (1 Enoch 13:1, 3, Gizeh)

Figure 3-18. Parallels for Moses Defeats Satan (Moses 1:19-23)

The continued resistance of Moses and Abraham calls for a dramatic change in tactics. In the words of Nibley: "Satan... casts aside his celebrated but now useless subtlety and launches a frontal attack of satanic fury, a tremendous tantrum."¹⁶⁵ Blaming his intended victim for all his troubles, a parallel story in the Armenian version of the *Life of Adam and Eve* records that Satan "wept loudly" as he railed forth in self-pity, and the Latin version has him "groaning." The Georgian account highlights the manipulative intent of the Devil's theatrics, stating that he "began to cry with forced tears."¹⁶⁶

Nibley fills in a missing parallel to Moses' final dismissal of Satan with a passage from the ancient book of *1 Enoch*.¹⁶⁷ In related traditions, Satan and Cain are both known as "earth shakers"¹⁶⁸ who make the ground tremble beneath them—however, in the end of all these stories, these mirrors of wickedness are themselves the ones who are left shaken and trembling in defeat.

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The Prophet Calls Upon God; Hears a Voice

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Ascent to heaven	Moses lifted up his eyes unto heaven (1:24). Cf. Nephi: upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away (2 Nephi 4:25)	the angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon and he himself sat on the left wing of the turtledove... and carried me up (15:2-3)
Voice at the veil	And he heard a voice, saying: Blessed art thou, Moses (1:25)	And while he was still speaking, behold a fire was coming toward us... (17:1)
Many waters	and thou shalt be made stronger than many waters... as if thou wert God (1:25)	and a sound [voice]... like a sound of many waters (17:1)

Figure 3-19. Parallels for *Moses Calls Upon God; Hears a Voice* (Moses 1:24-26)

Following his prayer, Moses is answered by a voice from behind the heavenly veil promising that he will be made “stronger than many waters... as if [he were] God.”¹⁶⁹ Similarly, at this point the *Apocalypse* tells us that Abraham hears a “sound [or voice]... like a sound of many waters.”¹⁷⁰

The statement that Moses was “caught up,”¹⁷¹ phrased in what is called the “divine passive,”¹⁷² reveals that his ascent was accomplished by God’s power and not his own.¹⁷³ Such wording may sometimes imply a context of priesthood ordinances. For example, we are told elsewhere that Adam was “*caught away* by the Spirit of the Lord” into the water and baptized.¹⁷⁴ Note that the Apostle Paul, like Moses and Abraham, was also “caught up” to the third heaven.¹⁷⁵

Here we see Abraham and Yahoel ascending to heaven on the wings of two of the birds provided by God at the time of the sacrifice.¹⁷⁶ The imagery of ascent on the wings of birds is a convention that goes back at least two thousand years.¹⁷⁷ Once again, Yahoel holds Abraham firmly by the wrist, using the right hand.¹⁷⁸ Note also the hand of divine blessing from heaven, and the veil marked with a star or sun, along with other markings we have not yet been able to decipher.

A parallel that ties Moses’ experience to that of Abraham in the *Apocalypse* is found in 1 Nephi 11:1 where Nephi was “caught away in the Spirit of the Lord, yea, into an exceedingly high mountain, which [he] never had before seen.”¹⁷⁹ Nephi later said that “upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away upon exceedingly high mountains,”¹⁸⁰ just as the *Sylvester Codex* shows Abraham being raised up to heaven on the wings of a bird.



Figure 3-20. Ascent of Abraham and Yahoel

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

The Prophet's Vision at the Veil

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
The prophet beholds the earth	As the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth (1:27)	And he said unto me, "Look now beneath your feet at the expanse and contemplate the creation (21:1)
The inhabitants of the earth	he beheld also the inhabitants thereof (1:28)	and those who inhabit it (21:1)
The prophet questions God	Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so, and by what thou madest them? (1:30)	Eternal, Mighty One! Why did you ordain it to be so? (26:1). Cf. <i>The Mother of Books</i> : My Lord, ...From where did he make the spirits? What was the origin of his creation?

Figure 3-21. Parallels for Moses' Vision at the Veil (Moses 1:27-30)

In Moses 1:27, we are told: "And it came to pass, as the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth." Remarkably, the book of Moses phrase "as the voice was still speaking" parallels a nearly identical phrase—"And while he [the angel] was still speaking"—in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*.¹⁸¹ In both cases, the phrase seems to be a code expression having to do with an exchange of words as one is preparing to pass from one side of the heavenly veil to the other.¹⁸² In the case of the *Apocalypse*, the phrase immediately precedes Abraham's recitation of certain words taught to him by the angel in preparation for his ascent to receive a vision of the work of God. In such accounts, once a person has been thoroughly tested, the "last phrase" of welcome is extended to him: "Let him come up!"¹⁸³ Significantly, following Abraham's ascent, when he passes back through the heavenly veil in the opposite direction on his return to the earth, the expression "And while he was still speaking" recurs.¹⁸⁴

The change in perspective as Moses passes upward through the heavenly veil is related in subtle beauty in the book of Moses. Previously, as he stood on the earth, Moses had "lifted up his eyes unto heaven."¹⁸⁵ Now, after ascending to heaven, he "cast his eyes" down to see the earth and all of its inhabitants.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, Abraham is told: "Look now beneath your feet at the expanse and contemplate the creation and those who inhabit it."¹⁸⁷

Moses' vision is perfectly in line with ancient accounts that speak of a "blueprint" of eternity that is worked out in advance and shown on the inside of the heavenly veil.¹⁸⁸ Writes Barker: "Those who passed beyond the veil found themselves outside time. When Rabbi Ishmael ascended and looked back he saw the curtain on which was depicted past, present and future. 'All generations to the end of time were printed on the curtain of the Omnipresent One. I saw them all with my own eyes'..."¹⁸⁹ [Similarly,] Enoch was taken up by three angels and set up on a high place whence he saw all history, past, present and future."¹⁹⁰

Moses witnessed its entire history from beginning to end like Adam, Enoch, the Brother of Jared, John the Beloved, and others.¹⁹¹ Moroni taught that those with perfect faith cannot be "kept from within the veil" (i.e., cannot be kept from passing through the veil¹⁹²)—meaning the heavenly veil behind which God dwells, whose earthly counterpart is the temple veil that divides the holy place from the holy of holies.¹⁹³ Seeing all this, Moses asks "Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so...?"¹⁹⁴ Likewise, Abraham asks, "Eternal, Mighty One! Why did you ordain it to be so?"¹⁹⁵

At this point, we observe a significant difference between the book of Moses and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. On the one hand, Moses will receive a partial answer to his question about "by what" God made these things through a vision of the Creation.¹⁹⁶ He will also be told something about "why these things are so."¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, in the *Apocalypse*, the dialogue between Abraham and the Lord centers, not on the creation and purpose of the universe, but rather on what would have been to the presumed first-century redactor recent events of local concern, including the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, and the future of Israel.¹⁹⁸ Indeed, this seems just the kind of material that such a redactor might have inserted into the text! By way of contrast, questions found in the Islamic *Mother of Books* provide a closer parallel to those found in the book of Moses: "My Lord, ...From where did he make the spirits? What was the origin of his creation?"¹⁹⁹

The Prophet in the Presence of God

The granting of the privilege to Moses of *seeing* God is paralleled both in Old Testament accounts such as Isaiah and Ezekiel, and in pseudepigraphal writings such as *1 Enoch*. In a second major difference with the book of Moses, however, the *Apocalypse of Abraham* explicitly rejects any visualization of God, and insists on the "revelation of the divine Voice" alone.²⁰⁰ The redactor of the *Apocalypse* seems to be arguing a theological point that is important to him when he has Yahoel tell Abraham: "the Eternal One... himself you will *not* see."²⁰¹

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

Just as Moses is then shown the events of the Creation and the Fall,²⁰² the *Apocalypse of Abraham* describes how the great patriarch looked down to see the affairs of what is called in modern revelation the “kingdoms of a lower order.”²⁰³ The Lord’s voice commanded Abraham to “look,” and a series of heavenly veils were opened beneath his feet.²⁰⁴ Like Moses, Abraham is shown the heavenly plan for creation—“the creation that was depicted of old²⁰⁵ on this expanse” (21:1²⁰⁶), its realization on the earth (21:3-5), the Garden of Eden (21:6), and the spirits of all men with certain ones “prepared to be born of [Abraham] and to be called [God’s] people (21:7-22:5)”²⁰⁷ When Abraham is told again to “Look... at the picture,” he sees Satan inciting the Fall of Adam and Eve (23:1-14),²⁰⁸ just as Moses saw these events following his own heavenly ascent.

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
God’s purpose is His own	For mine own purpose have I made these things. Here is wisdom and it remaineth in me (1:31)	As the will of your father is in him, ... so also [my] will ... is inevitable (26:5)
Moses speaks with the Lord face to face	Moses stood in the presence of God, and talked with him face to face (1:31)	He whom you will see going before both of us ... is the Eternal One... whom himself you will <i>not</i> see (16:3)
Vision of the Creation, the Garden of Eden, and the Fall	Moses sees the creation of the earth (ch. 2), the Garden of Eden (ch. 3) and the Fall of Adam and Eve (ch. 4)	Abraham sees the creation of the earth (21:3-5), the Garden of Eden (21:6), and Satan inciting the Fall of Adam and Eve (23:1-14).

Figure 3-22. Parallels for Moses’ Vision at the Veil (Moses 1:31-40)

Of great interest for our study is that fact that, in explicit contradiction to the text of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, the fourteenth-century Christian illustrator of the *Codex Sylvester* had no qualms about representing God visually. Barker observes: “To see the glory of the Lord’s presence—to see beyond the veil— was the greatest blessing. The high priest used to bless Israel with the words: ‘The Lord bless you and keep you: The Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you: The Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace’²⁰⁹... Seeing the glory, however, became controversial. Nobody knows why. There is one strand in the Old Testament that is absolutely opposed to any idea of seeing the divine... [On the other hand,] Jesus said: ‘Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God’;²¹⁰ and John saw ‘one seated on the throne.’²¹¹ There can be no doubt where the early Christians stood on this matter.”²¹²

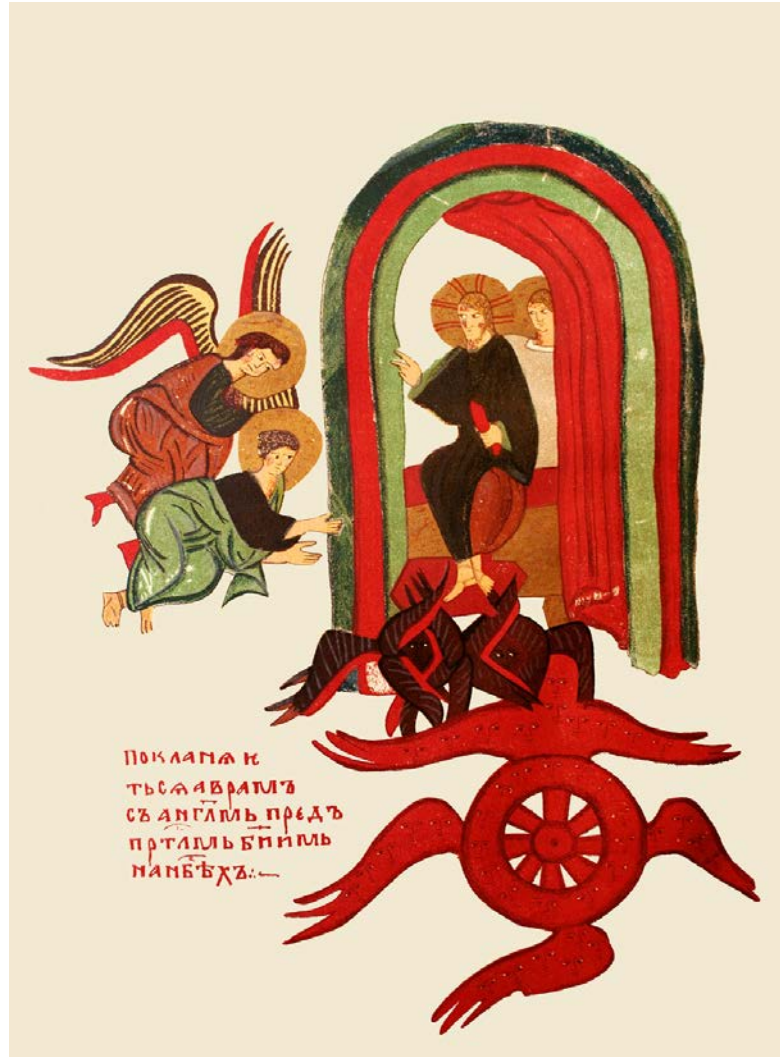


Figure 3-23. Abraham and Yahoel Before the Divine Throne

In the illustration,²¹³ the figure seated on the throne seems to be Christ. His identity is indicated by the cruciform markings on His halo. Behind Him sits another figure, perhaps alluding to the statement that “Michael is with me [God] in order to bless you forever.”²¹⁴ Beneath the throne are fiery seraphim and many-eyed “wheels” praising God. The throne is surrounded by a series of heavenly veils, representing different levels of the firmament separating God from the material world—the latter being signified by the outermost dark blue veil. The fact that the veils are depicted as fabric rather than simply a “rainbow effect” is easily revealed by close inspection.

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT



Figure 3-24. William Blake, 1757-1827: *The Lord Answers Job*, 1826

Knowing he could not quench his thirst from the “broken cisterns,” of human wisdom, Moses, like Job, sought “the fountain of living waters,”²¹⁵ placing “emphasis on seeing God after so much mere hearsay.”²¹⁶ William Blake’s depiction of the story’s culminating theophany captures the prime purpose of such strivings. It shows God surrounded by a concourse of angels. The prophet looks up to converse with Him face to face, while his friends lie prostrate in terror.²¹⁷ In other versions of Blake’s drawing, the visionary is actually caught up with God in the circle, with identical faces that mirror one other in serene mutual regard. According to Fisch, the key to understanding the illustration is that “Man is about to take on the nature of God... For according to Blake’s radical reading of the Gospel, ...Man himself—not merely Jesus, but every man and woman—is potentially endowed with divine glory and even divine power!”²¹⁸ Blake expressed this thought in the couplet: “God becomes as we are, that we may be as he is.”²¹⁹ Both William Blake and Joseph Smith, according to Harold Bloom, “sought to end the distinction between the human and the divine.”²²⁰

Epilogue

	Book of Moses	Apocalypse of Abraham
Scripture to be lost and restored	when the children of men shall ... take many of [my words] from the book which thou shalt write, ...I will raise up another... and they shall be had again among the children of men— among as many as shall believe. (1:41)	Cf. 2 Enoch 35:1-2: And... another generation will arise, the last of many... And I shall raise up for that generation someone who will reveal to [truthful men] the books in your handwriting
Some scripture to be reserved for the righteous	These words were spoken unto Moses... Show them not unto any except them that believe. (1:42)	Cf. Ezra, certain books were to be read by the “worthy and unworthy” whereas others were to be only given “to the wise.” (4 Ezra 14:6, 45-47)

Figure 3-25. Parallels for *Epilogue* (Moses 1:41-42)

Parallels between ancient texts and the first chapter of the book of Moses are reflected even in the epilogue. For example, though the theme of scripture that is to be lost and restored is not found in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, another work preserved in Slavonic, *2 Enoch*, records that a last “generation will arise... And I shall raise up for that generation someone who will reveal to [truthful men] the books in your handwriting.”²²¹

Conclusions

A close examination of the details of the account of Moses’ heavenly ascent in the context of its overall structure throws important light on the significance of temple ordinances performed in our day. Parallels with other ancient texts, such as the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, confirm the basic temple pattern, and constitute an impressive witness of the antiquity of the text restored by Joseph Smith’s revelations. Hugh Nibley concluded as a result of his study: “These parallel accounts, separated by centuries, cannot be coincidence. Nor can all the others.”²²²

For Joseph Smith, as Bushman insightfully observes, knowledge was not only a source of power and salvation²²³ but also of comfort.²²⁴ Said the Prophet on one occasion, “I am glad I have the privilege of communicating to you some things which if grasped closely will be a help to you when the clouds are gathering and

3. THE VISION OF MOSES AS A HEAVENLY ASCENT

the storms are ready to burst upon you like peals of thunder. Lay hold of these things and let not your knees tremble, nor hearts faint.”²²⁵ May we all “grasp closely” the supernal knowledge available to us through latter-day revelation so that as “the clouds are gathering and the storms are ready to burst upon [us] like peals of thunder” in our day, *our* knees will not tremble, nor will *our* hearts faint.

4. Creation and the Garden as Models for Temple Architecture

THE descriptions of the days of creation in Genesis and the book of Moses differ from those found in the book of Abraham and in modern temples. In contrast to the latter accounts, Moses' version seems to have been deliberately shaped to highlight resemblances between the creation of the cosmos and the building of the Tabernacle. Such a view helps explain why, for example, in seeming contradiction to scientific understanding,²²⁶ the description of the creation of the sun and moon appears *after*, rather than *before*, the creation of light and of the earth. Careful study also reveals that not only the Creation, but also the Garden of Eden provided a model for temple architecture.



Figure 4-1. Michelangelo, 1475-1564: *Creation of the Sun and Moon*, 1511

“Let There Be Light”

The nature of the light referred to in Moses 2:3 is not explained. Several possibilities have been suggested. Some interpreters see this event as consonant with the prevailing scientific view that describes the birth of our universe as a sudden burst of light and energy of unimaginable scale. Others see this phrase as

referring to a “local” event whereby the natural light of the sun was created.²²⁷ It is, of course, a given that the sun was created prior to the fourth day, though from the vantage point of earth no light will “appear in the firmament” until that later time.²²⁸

In contrast to such naturalistic readings, Hugh Nibley’s interpretation seems more consistent with related scriptural passages—namely, that the light referred to was the result of God’s presence: “All this time the Gods had been dwelling in light and glory, but the earth was dark... This was not the first creation of light. Wherever light comes into darkness, ‘there is light.’”²²⁹ Consistent with this view, President John Taylor wrote that God

... caused light to shine upon [the earth] before the sun appeared in the firmament; for God is light, and in him there is no darkness.²³⁰ He is the light of the sun and the power thereof by which it was made; he is also the light of the moon and the power by which it was made; he is the light of the stars and the power by which they are made.”²³¹

D&C 88:12-13 continues this description to make it clear that this light is something over and above mere physical light as generally conceived, since it not only “enlighteneth your eyes” but also “quickeneth your understandings,” governs and “giveth life to all things,” and “proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space.”²³² As Isaac Watts expressed in one of his hymns: “In vain the bright, the burning sun / Scatters his feeble light; / ’Tis Thy sweet beams create my noon; / If Thou withdraw, ’tis night.”²³³

The idea of God Himself as the source of this special light is consistent with many ancient sources.²³⁴ For example, rabbinical commentators saw the light at the beginning of Creation as the splendor of God Himself, who “cloaked himself in it as a cloak” and it “shone forth from one end of the world to the other.”²³⁵ A corresponding light was said to fill the place of God’s presence in the temple:

The brightness of the Holy of Holies was the light of Day One, before the visible world had been created... Those who entered the Holy of Holies entered this place of light, beyond time and matter, which was the presence of “the King of kings and Lord of lords who alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light.”²³⁶ This was the place of glory to which Jesus knew he would return after the crucifixion, “the glory which I had with thee before the world was made.”²³⁷ In the *Gospel of Thomas*,²³⁸ Christians are described as the new high priesthood who enter the light, and Jesus instructed his disciples to say to the guardians (the cherub guardians of Eden?) “We came from the light, the place where the light came into being on its own accord and established [itself]...”²³⁹

“I, God, Divided the Light from the Darkness”



Figure 4-2. Gaetano Previati, 1852-1920: *The Creation of Light*, 1913

Some ancient sources assert that the heavenly hosts²⁴⁰—variously described in ancient sources as including the angels, the sons of God, and/or the souls of humanity—were part of the light described in connection with Day One of Creation.²⁴¹ Though the idea is not widely known or appreciated today, the visual depiction of this event has a venerable history, stretching from medieval times to our own, as seen in this magnificent painting by Previati.

From this perspective, the division of the light from the darkness might be seen as an allusion to premortal separation of the spirits who rebelled (“the darkness”) and were cast out of the presence of God (“the light”).²⁴² The tenor aria of the archangel Uriel from Haydn’s 1798 *Die Schöpfung* (“The Creation”) beautifully expresses the idea: “Now vanish before the holy beams / The gloomy shades of ancient night; / The first day appears. / Now chaos ends, and order fair prevails. / Affrighted fly hell’s spirits black in throngs: / Down they sink in the deep abyss / To endless night.”²⁴³ A parallel to this event can be seen in the book of Enoch where rebel angels (in this case, the Watchers,²⁴⁴ rather than the premortal hosts of Satan) are sent to dwell forever in the abyss.²⁴⁵

The Days of Creation and Temple Architecture

Old Testament scholar Margaret Barker argues that the architecture of the tabernacle and the temple of ancient Israel is a similitude based on Moses' vision of the creation.²⁴⁶ According to this view, the results of each day of Creation are symbolically reflected in temple furnishings. For example, as described above, the light of day one of Creation might be understood as the glory of God and those who dwelled with Him. The temple veil would then symbolize the "firmament" as the primary division between heaven and earth.²⁴⁷

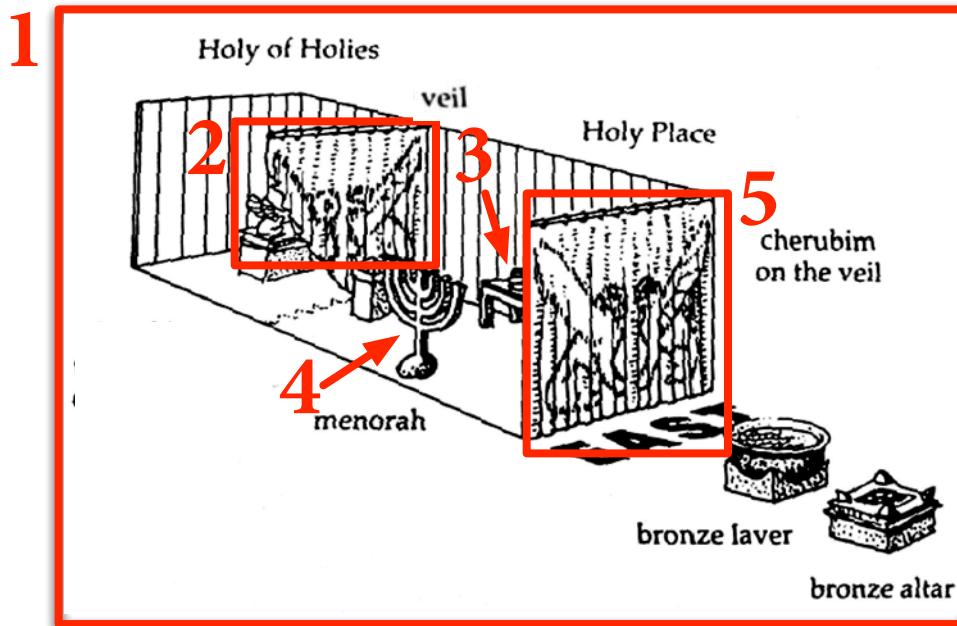


Figure 4-3. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: *The Days of Creation and the Temple*, 1994

Louis Ginzberg's reconstruction of ancient Jewish sources is consistent with this overall idea,²⁴⁸ as well as with the proposal that Genesis 1 may have been used as part of Israelite temple liturgy.²⁴⁹

God told the angels: On the first day of creation, I shall make the heavens and stretch them out; so will Israel raise up the tabernacle as the dwelling place of my Glory.²⁵⁰ On the second day I shall put a division between the terrestrial waters and the heavenly waters, so will [my servant Moses] hang up a veil in the tabernacle to divide the Holy Place and the Most Holy.²⁵¹ On the third day I shall make the earth to put forth grass and herbs; so will he, in obedience to my commands, ... prepare shewbread before me.²⁵² On the fourth day I shall

make the luminaries;²⁵³ so he will stretch out a golden candlestick [menorah] before me.²⁵⁴ On the fifth day I shall create the birds; so he will fashion the cherubim with outstretched wings.²⁵⁵ On the sixth day I shall create man; so will Israel set aside a man from the sons of Aaron as high priest for my service.²⁵⁶

Carrying this idea forward to a later epoch, Exodus 40:33 describes how Moses completed the tabernacle. The Hebrew text exactly parallels the account of how God finished creation.²⁵⁷ *Genesis Rabbah* comments: “It is as if, on that day [i.e., the day the tabernacle was raised in the wilderness], I actually created the world.”²⁵⁸ With this idea in mind, Hugh Nibley has famously called the temple “a scale-model of the universe.”²⁵⁹

Only when God finishes his work and declares it to be very good does He rest. And when He does so, taking His place in the midst of Creation and ascending to His throne, the cosmic temple comes into its full existence as a functional sanctuary. Creation is not a temple until God rests within it.²⁶⁰

Parallels in the Layout of the Garden of Eden and of the Temple

A number of scholars have found parallels in the layout of the Garden of Eden and that of Israelite sanctuaries.²⁶¹ Even outside of Jewish tradition, temple and garden themes were often combined, as illustrated in this mural from the Court of the Palms at Mari from about 1800 BCE, possibly during the reign of King Yahdun-Lim.²⁶² J. R. Porter writes of how the scene depicted in the mural “strikingly recall[s] details of the Genesis description of the Garden of Eden. In particular, the mural depicts two types of tree,” one type clearly being a date palm analogue to the Tree of Life. In the symmetrical side panels at the far left and right of the mural, two men climb each of the two date palms;²⁶³ the tree on the right can clearly be seen as harboring a bird.²⁶⁴ As an intriguing parallel to the notion of the Tree of Knowledge as the veil of the sanctuary, note that two exemplars of the second type of tree are placed in immediate proximity to the most holy place.²⁶⁵ These two trees are “guarded by mythical winged animals[—the Assyrian version of the] cherubim”²⁶⁶ who would be responsible for “the introduction of worshippers to the presence of a god.”²⁶⁷

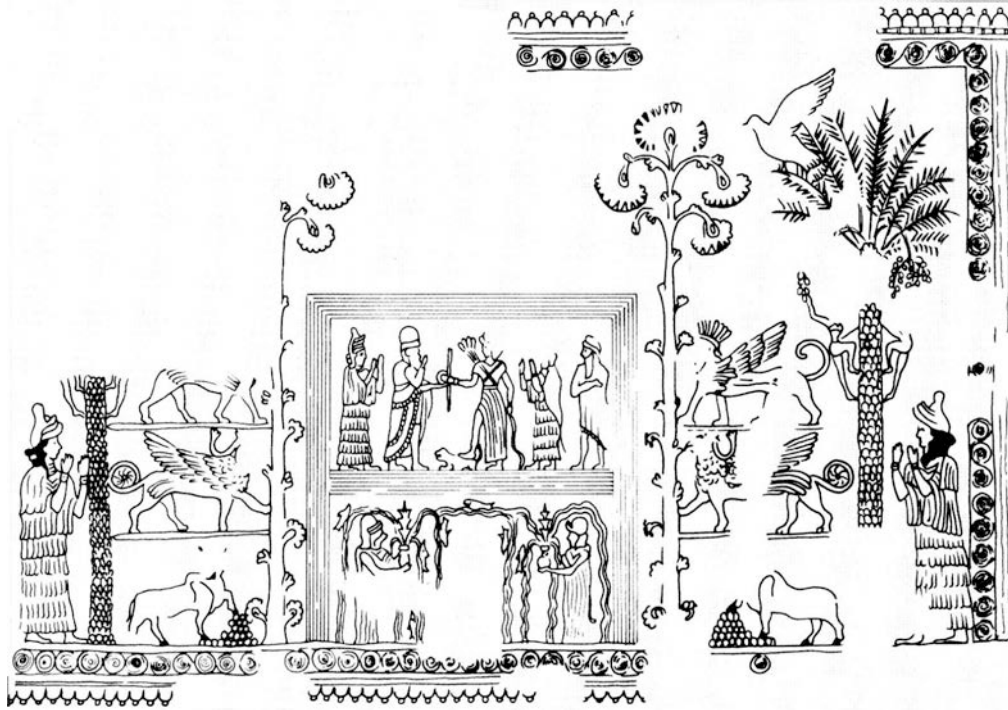


Figure 4-4. Investiture Panel, Mari, ca. 1800 BCE

Al-Khalesi argues that the central scene of the mural depicts “a religious ceremony taking place inside [an inner sanctuary] as viewed through an open door.”²⁶⁸ He concludes that the scene in the mural is a “*figurative representation of the actual architectural form of the [inner sanctuary] and the statues which were originally set up inside it.*”²⁶⁹ Since the ritual would have been witnessed by only a few people, al-Khalesi thinks that “the purpose of the mural was to illustrate the actual act of the ceremony—a given moment” to those standing outside.²⁷⁰ The sanctuary itself would have been shielded from the public view in the throne room by a veil made of “ornamented woven material” supported by two wooden posts.²⁷¹ Thus, Al-Khalesi concludes that the innermost or sacred tree in the mural was “meant to symbolize a door-post.”²⁷² He also points our attention to the fact that the upper and lower parts of the mural are “horizontally divided into two parts by a band of six stripes,”²⁷³ corresponding architecturally in the sanctuary entrance to the six top steps of a stairway²⁷⁴ and effectively defining seven degrees of separation.²⁷⁵

Flanking the bottom of the stairway to the inner chamber were two identical statues of goddesses with flowing vases. As expected, in the corresponding lower half of the mural, we see “figures holding jars from which flow four streams,” with a seedling²⁷⁶ growing out of the middle, recalling the streams that flowed out from

underneath the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden.²⁷⁷ The streams could be seen as suggesting the theme of ritual washings or libations as a prelude to royal investiture.²⁷⁸ The upper scene may, in fact, “depict a king being invested by the Mesopotamian fertility goddess Ishtar.”²⁷⁹ Eve has been associated with such divine figures.²⁸⁰ As one part of this ceremony, the king would have touched or grasped the hand of the statue of Ishtar.²⁸¹ Note the king’s raised right hand, perhaps an oath-related gesture.²⁸² His outstretched left arm receives the rod and ring of his office, symbols of divine power.²⁸³

In many traditions, sacred trees are identified with a human king,²⁸⁴ or with the mother of a king, whether human or divine.²⁸⁵ Like the two figures witnessing the investiture, two other individuals near date palms raise their hands in supplication,²⁸⁶ suggesting a parallel between the tree and the king himself. Like the Tree of Life, the king is an “archetypal receiver and distributor of divine blessing.”²⁸⁷

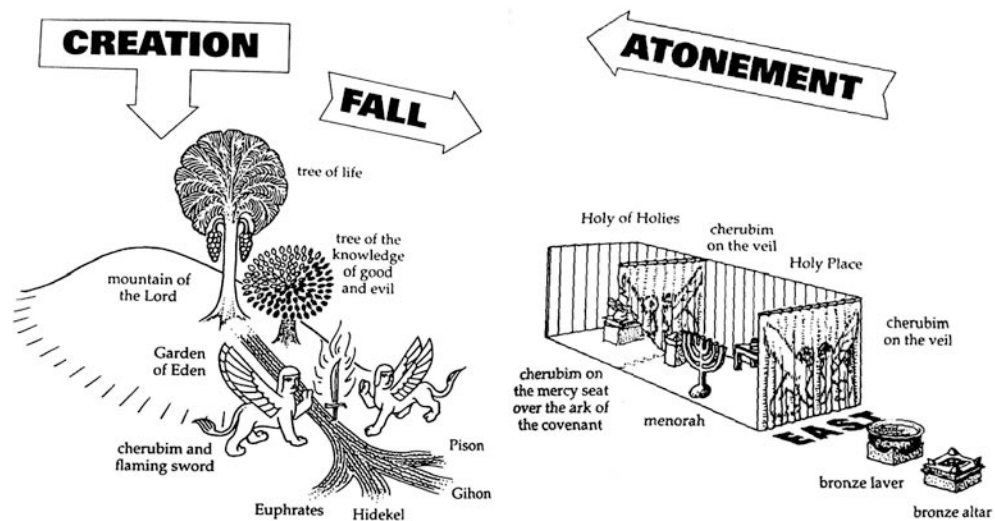


Figure 4-5. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: *Sacred Topography of Eden and Temple*, 1994

Relating to the specifics of the biblical version of this story, Donald W. Parry has argued that the Garden of Eden can be seen as a natural “temple,” where Adam and Eve lived in God’s presence for a time, and mirroring the configuration of the heavenly temple intended as their ultimate destination.²⁸⁸ Parry describes the correspondence between Israelite temple ritual and Adam and Eve’s journey through the Garden of Eden as follows:

Anciently, once a year on *Yom Kippur*, the Day of Atonement, Adam’s eastward expulsion from the Garden was reversed when the high priest traveled west past the consuming fire of sacrifice and the purifying water of

the laver, through the veil woven with images of cherubim. Thus, he returned to the original point of creation, where he poured out the atoning blood of the sacrifice, reestablishing the covenant relationship with God.²⁸⁹

In modern temples, the posterity of Adam and Eve likewise trace the footsteps of their first parents both away from Eden and also in their subsequent journey of return and reunion.²⁹⁰ About the journey made within the temple, Nibley comments:

Properly speaking, one did not go “through” the temple—in one door and out another—for one enters and leaves by the same door, but by moving in opposite directions... The Two Ways of Light and Darkness are but one way after all, as the wise Heraclitus said: “The up-road and the down-road are one”; which one depends on the way we are facing.²⁹¹

In the book of Moses, chapters 1-4 tells the story of the “down-road,” while chapters 5-8 follow the journey of Adam and Eve and the righteous branches of their posterity along the “up-road.”²⁹² In the book of Moses, the “up-road” is called the “way of the Tree of Life”²⁹³—signifying the path that leads to the presence of God and the sweet fruit held in reserve for the righteous in the day of resurrection.

In the meantime, though the glory of God’s presence no longer fills the whole earth, it has not been completely withdrawn. In a movement similar to the divine concealment that the Lurianic *kabbalah* terms “contraction,”²⁹⁴ the fulness of God’s glory is, as it were, concentrated in one place—the temple—which continues to represent in microcosm the image of what will someday again become the model for a fully renewed Creation, happy in the divine rest of a perpetual Sabbath.²⁹⁵ Until that day, however, the Temple remains “to space what the Sabbath is to time, a recollection of the protological dimension bounded by mundane reality. It is the higher world in which the worshiper wishes he could dwell forever... The Temple is the moral center of the universe, the source from which holiness and a terrifying justice radiate”²⁹⁶ to the dark and fallen world that surrounds it.

Fittingly, just as the first book of the Bible, Genesis, recounts the story of Adam and Eve being cast out from the Garden, its last book, Revelation, prophesies a permanent return to Eden for the sanctified.²⁹⁷ In that day, the veil that separates man and the rest of fallen creation from God will be swept away, and all shall be “done in earth, as it is in heaven.”²⁹⁸ In the original Garden of Eden, “there was no need for a temple—because Adam and Eve enjoyed the continual presence of God”—likewise, in John’s vision “there was no temple in the Holy City, ‘for its temple is the Lord God.’”²⁹⁹ To reenter the renewed³⁰⁰ “Garden” at that happy day

is to return to the original spiritual state of immortality and innocence through forgiveness of sin, and to know the oneness that existed at the dawn of Creation, before the creative processes of division and separation began.³⁰¹ The premortal glory of the righteous shall then be “added upon”³⁰² as they receive a fulness of the blessings of sanctification, “coupled with eternal glory, which glory we do not now enjoy.”³⁰³ Linda McCarthy’s elegant digital watercolor depicts the heavenly and earthly cities of God, mutually reflecting their serene splendor.



Figure 4-6. Linda McCarthy, 1947-: City of Enoch, 2002

Conclusions

Evidence suggests that the architecture and layout of the temple was intentionally mirrored in the account of the days of Creation and the description of the Garden of Eden. An understanding of this layout is crucial to an understanding of the symbolism of the Fall, as we will explore in later chapters.

4. THE CREATION AND THE GARDEN AS MODELS FOR TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

5. The Symbolism of the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge

THE Tree of Life is certainly the most significant object in the Garden of Eden. However, its presence has always been somewhat of a puzzle to students of the Bible because it is only briefly mentioned in Genesis: once at the beginning of the story in connection with the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil,³⁰⁴ and once at the end when cherubim and a flaming sword are placed before it to prevent Adam and Eve from partaking of its fruit.³⁰⁵

Though neither the nature nor the function of the Trees of Life and Knowledge are given explicitly in scripture, an understanding of temple teachings and layout can greatly illuminate this subject. In this chapter, I will provide some background on the symbolism of these two trees. In the following chapter, I will discuss how their placement in the Garden of Eden relates to the layout of Israelite temples and makes their roles in the story of Adam and Eve apparent.

Symbolism of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil

The Hebrew expression “knowledge of good and evil” can mean knowledge of what is good and bad, or of happiness and misery—or, most arguably, of “everything,” if “good and evil” can be taken to mean the totality of all that is, was, or is yet to be.³⁰⁶ The variegated light and darkness in the photograph of the fig tree shown above suggests the ambivalent nature of this symbolism.

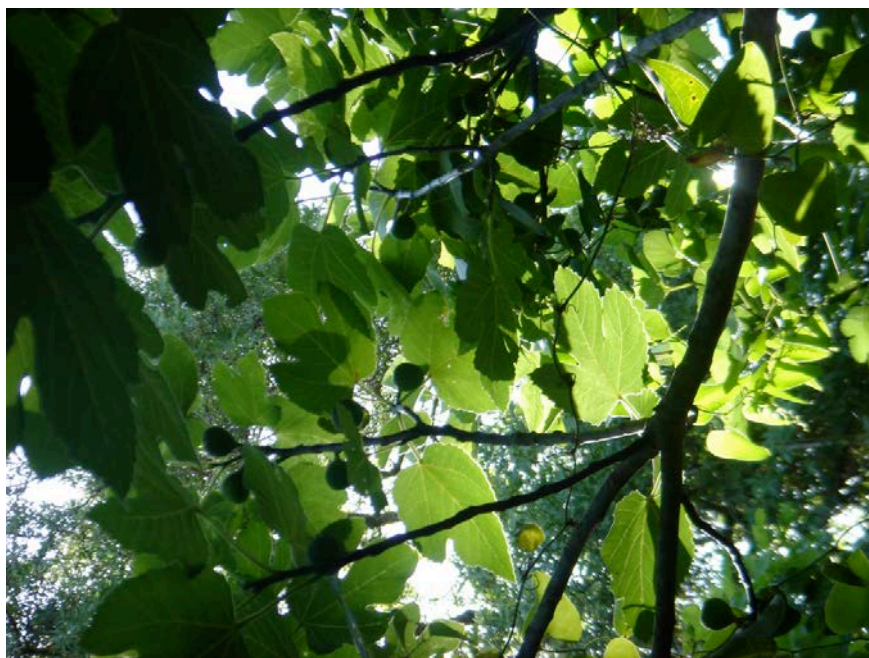


Figure 5-1. Fig Tree at Tel Dan Nature Reserve, Israel, 2008

5. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Perhaps the most relevant hint on the meaning of the phrase comes from Deuteronomy 1:39, which speaks of little children “who... have no knowledge of good and evil,” suggesting “that they are not legally responsible for their actions.”³⁰⁷ In this sense, the term refers not to abstract conceptual knowledge but rather to the kind of “knowledge which infancy lacks and experience acquires.”³⁰⁸ Thus, sensing his inexperience, the young King Solomon prayed for the ability “to discern between good and evil” so that he would be able to function in his royal role.³⁰⁹ The kind of understanding implied by the phrase “knowledge of good and evil” is, as Claus Westermann³¹⁰ concludes:

... concerned with knowledge (or wisdom) in the general, comprehensive sense. Any limitation of the meaning of “the knowledge of good and evil” is thereby excluded. It can mean neither moral nor sexual³¹¹ nor any other partial knowledge, but only that knowledge which includes and determines human existence as a whole, [the ability to master]... one’s own existence.

Consistent with this reading of the phrase, LDS scripture refers to the ability to know “good *from* evil,”³¹² which presupposes “man’s power to choose the sweet even when it is harmful and reject the bitter even when beneficial.”³¹³

The commandment specifying the prohibition of eating from the Tree of Knowledge is given in Moses 3:16-17:

16 And I, the Lord God, commanded the man, saying: Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat,

17 But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou³¹⁴ shalt not eat of it, nevertheless, thou mayest choose for thyself, for it is given unto thee; but, remember that I forbid it, for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

The phrase “thou mayest choose for thyself” is a book of Moses addition to the Genesis account. The phrase serves to emphasize the fact that Adam and Eve are to be placed in a situation where they must exercise their agency in order to continue their progression. Elder Joseph Fielding Smith, speaking while an LDS apostle, offered the following paraphrase of the command:

The Lord said to Adam, here is the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. If you want to stay here then you cannot eat of that fruit. If you want to stay here, then I forbid you to eat it. But you may act for yourself and you may eat of it if you want to. And if you eat of it you will die.³¹⁵

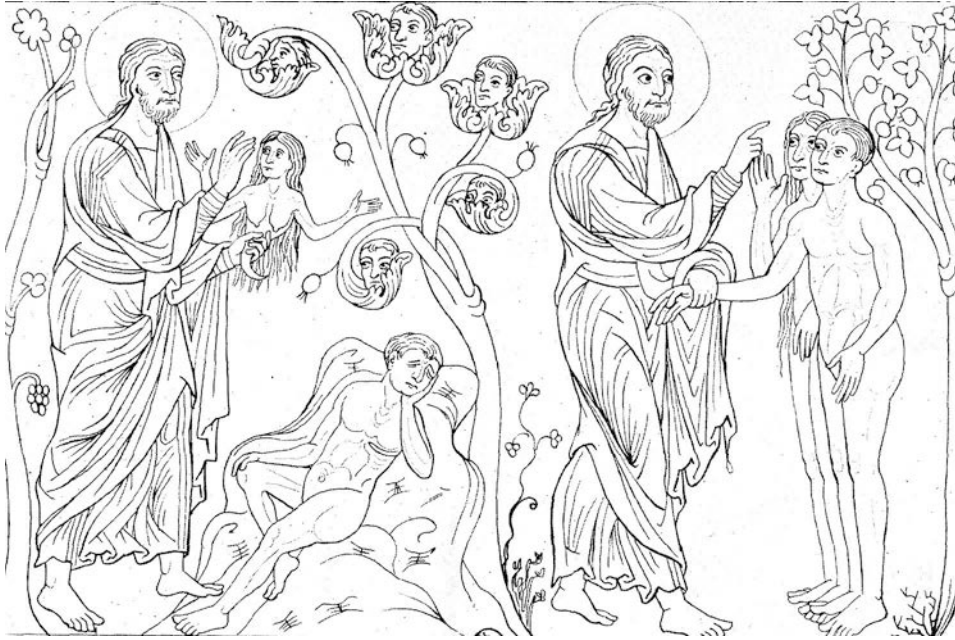


Figure 5-2. *God Creating Eve, God Instructing Adam and Eve*, late 12th century

Shown here is a twelfth-century drawing of two scenes from the Garden of Eden. At the left is Eve, who is being created from Adam's rib with their future posterity represented as the fruit of a heavenly "Tree of Souls."³¹⁶ At the right is God, giving Adam and Eve a commandment not to partake of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge.³¹⁷ Gary A. Anderson points out an interesting divergence between Genesis story and the drawing featured here: "Whereas Genesis 2 recounts that Adam was created first,³¹⁸ given a commandment,³¹⁹ and only then received a spouse,³²⁰ the [illustration] has it that Adam was created, then Eve was drawn from his rib, and finally *both* were given a commandment."³²¹ At right, God gestures toward the Tree of Knowledge in warning as He takes Adam firmly by the wrist. At the same time, Eve raises her arm in what seems a gesture of consent to God's commandment.³²²

Consistent with the shapes of the leaves and fruit shown at right, Jewish and Christian traditions often identify the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil as a fig tree, thus heightening the irony later on when Adam and Eve attempt to cover themselves with its leaves.³²³ The fruit of the fig tree is known for its abundance of seeds, thus an apron of green fig leaves is an appropriate symbol for Adam and Eve's ability to "be fruitful and multiply"³²⁴ after the Fall.³²⁵ Less likely are suggestions that the forbidden fruit was to be symbolized by the grape,³²⁶ the pomegranate, or the apple (based on the correspondence between the Latin *malus* = evil and *malum* = apple).³²⁷

LDS teachings about the nature of the “forbidden fruit” include a wide variety of opinions. For example, while President Brigham Young³²⁸ and Elder James E. Talmage³²⁹ understood the scriptures as describing a literal ingestion of “food” of some sort, Elder Bruce R. McConkie left the door open for a figurative interpretation: “What is meant by partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil is that our first parents complied with whatever laws were involved so that their bodies would change from their state of paradisiacal immortality to a state of natural mortality.”³³⁰

Symbolism of the Tree of Life

Since the Tree of Life is not specifically prohibited to Adam and Eve, commentators have often speculated on the question of whether Adam and Eve can be presumed to have eaten from it to prolong their lives so long as they remained in the Garden. However, a careful reading of Genesis itself seems to run counter to this view. For example, the use of the term “also” in Genesis 3:22 (Hebrew *gam*; “and take *also* of the tree of life”) suggests that they had not yet partaken of the fruit of the Tree of Life at the time these words were spoken. Evidence for the use of *gam* in the sense of “new and additional activity” is provided in Genesis 3:6 as well (“and *also* gave to her husband”).³³¹ Additionally, Barr studied 131 cases of “lest” (Hebrew *pen*; “lest he put for his hand... and eat”) in the Bible “and found none which means ‘lest someone continue to do what they are already doing.’”³³² Specifically affirming such a reading is a unique Samaritan exegesis of Genesis 2:16 that specifically excludes the Tree of Life from the original permission given to Adam and Eve to eat from the trees of the Garden.³³³

In contrast to the common idea that eating the fruit of the Tree of Life was merely a way to provide biological immortality, Elder Bruce R. McConkie maintained that its purpose was to confer the glory of “eternal life”³³⁴—the kind of life that God lives—in whatever degree, of course, those who partake are qualified to receive it.³³⁵ Non-Mormon scholar Vos concurs, concluding that “the tree was associated with the higher, the unchangeable, the eternal life to be secured by obedience throughout the probation.”³³⁶ According to this view, Adam and Eve would not have been permitted to partake of the fruit of the Tree of Life at their own discretion. Like each one of us, Adam and Eve’s only approach to the Tree of Life was by way of leaving the Garden of Eden to pass into mortality, and finally returning at last to take of the sweet fruit only when they had completed their probation and were authoritatively invited to do so.³³⁷

Olive Tree or Date Palm?

Ancient commentators often identify the symbolism of the Tree of Life with the olive tree.³³⁸ Its extremely long life makes it a fitting representation for eternal life, and the everyday use of the oil as a source of both nourishment for man and fuel for light evokes natural associations when used in conjunction with the ritual anointing of priests and kings, and the blessing of the sick.³³⁹

A variety of texts also associate the olive tree with the Garden of Eden. For example, ancient traditions recount that on his sickbed Adam requested Eve and Seth to return to the Garden to retrieve oil—presumably olive oil—from the “tree of his mercy.”³⁴⁰ Recalling the story of the dove that returned to Noah’s ark with the olive branch in its mouth, one rabbinical opinion gives it that the “gates of the garden of Eden opened for the dove, and from there she brought it.”³⁴¹ Two days after a revelation describing how war was to be “poured out upon all nations,” Joseph Smith designated D&C 88, by way of contrast, as the “olive leaf... plucked from the Tree of Paradise, the Lord’s message of peace to us.”³⁴²



Figure 5-3. Olive Tree, Traditional Site of the Garden of Gethsemane, 1977

5. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

The date palm, on the other hand, is the symbol of the sacred tree in Assyrian mythology, and its longevity was a fitting symbol for long life to the Egyptians.³⁴³ The Old Testament Deborah rendered judgment as she dwelt under a palm tree,³⁴⁴ and the holiest places within the temples of Solomon and of Ezekiel's vision were decorated with palms.³⁴⁵ As a sign of victory and kingship, palm fronds were a central part of the celebration of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem.³⁴⁶ The *Qur'an* also describes the palm as providing shelter and nourishment for Mary, who was said to have given birth to Jesus in the wilderness beneath such a tree.³⁴⁷

A single date palm tree “often yielded more than one hundred pounds of fruit per year over a productive lifetime of one hundred years or more. Akkadian synonyms for date palm included ‘tree of abundance’ (*isu masru*) and ‘tree of riches’ (*isu rasu*)—appropriate names for the vehicle of agricultural success and richness.”³⁴⁸



Figure 5-4. Palm Tree Near the Dead Sea, 2008

Also in favor of the date palm as a representation of the Tree of Life are the Book of Mormon accounts of the visions of Lehi and Nephi. Lehi contrasts the fruit of the Tree of Life to the fruit of the forbidden tree: “the one being sweet and the other bitter.”³⁴⁹ The fruit of the date palm—often described as “white” in its most desirable varieties, well-known to Lehi’s family, and likely available in the Valley of Lemuel where the family was camped at the time of the visions—would have provided a more fitting analogue than the olive to the love of God that was “sweet above all that is sweet.”³⁵⁰

Reconciling the competing conceptions of a Tree of Life that bears sweet fruit like the date as opposed to oil-producing fruit like the olive are ancient suggestions that the Garden story was concerned with three special trees rather than two.³⁵¹ In addition to the original Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge, the third tree, an olive tree, is said to have sprouted up only after the sin of Adam. Thus, in a speculative mood, we might consider the possibility of two “Trees of Life”: the original Edenic tree with its sweet fruit, destined as the ultimate reward of the righteous and arguably represented within the Holy of Holies of the First Temple,³⁵² and the subsequently sprouted oil-bearing “Tree of Mercy”³⁵³ that may have been symbolized in the *menorah* that is said to have stood in front of the veil in the Holy Place. In the parlance of the doctrines of the Restoration, we might see in this interpretation the oil-bearing olive tree as representing the Savior, His healing atonement, and the Gospel covenants explained to Adam and Eve after the Fall that would eventually enable them to return to the presence of the Father and the enjoyment of the sweet fruit of eternal life.³⁵⁴

Conclusions

The message about the results of eating of one or the other tree is clear. In both cases, those who eat become “partakers of the divine nature”³⁵⁵—the Tree of Life symbolizing the means by which a fitting measure of eternal life is granted to the faithful, while the Tree of Knowledge enabling those who ingest its fruit to become “as gods, knowing good and evil.”³⁵⁶ The subsequent story of the Fall seems to teach, however, that eating of either tree in an unprepared state may bring dire consequences.

5. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

6. The “Sacred Center” of the Garden of Eden



Figure 6-1. Lutwin: How the Devil Deceived Eve (detail), early 14th century

ONE thing that has always perplexed readers of Genesis is the location of the two special trees in the Garden of Eden. The Hebrew phrase corresponding to “in the midst”³⁵⁷ literally means “in the center.”³⁵⁸ Although scripture initially applies the phrase “in the midst” only to the Tree of Life,³⁵⁹ the Tree of Knowledge is later said by Eve to be located there, too.³⁶⁰

Elaborate explanations have been advanced in an attempt to describe how both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge could share the center of the Garden of Eden.³⁶¹ For example, it has been suggested that these two trees were in reality different aspects of a single tree,³⁶² that they shared a common trunk,³⁶³ or were somehow intertwined.³⁶⁴

In considering the story as a whole, the subtle conflation of the location of two trees in the Genesis account seems intentional, preparing readers for the confusion that later ensues in the dialogue between Eve and the serpent.³⁶⁵ The dramatic irony of the story is heightened by the fact that while the reader is informed about both trees, Adam and Eve are only specifically told about the Tree of Knowledge. Given his knowledge of both trees, Satan is enabled to exploit their ignorance to his advantage.

6. THE “SACRED CENTER” OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN

A brief review of the symbolism of the “center” in ancient thought will help clarify the important roles that the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge played “in the midst” of the Garden of Eden.³⁶⁶

The Symbolism of the “Sacred Center”

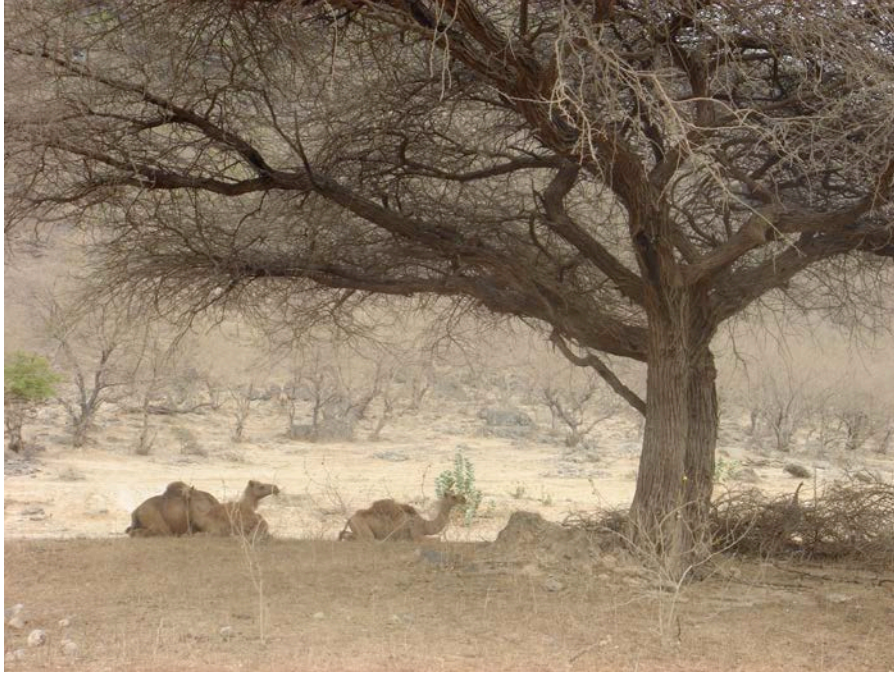


Figure 6-2. Wadi Darbat, Dhofar, Oman, 2006

Explaining the choice of a tree to represent the concepts of life, earth, and heaven, Stordalen writes:

Every green tree would symbolize life, and a large tree—rooted in deep soil and stretching towards the sky—potentially makes a cosmic symbol.³⁶⁷ In both cases, it becomes a “symbol of the center.”³⁶⁸

The temple, described by Isaiah as “the mountain of the Lord’s house,”³⁶⁹ is likewise a symbol of the center. In ancient Israel, the holiest spot on earth was believed to be the Foundation Stone in front of the Ark within the Holy of Holies of the temple at Jerusalem. To the Jews, “it was the first solid material to emerge from the waters of creation,³⁷⁰ and it was upon this stone that the Deity effected creation.”³⁷¹ As a famous passage in the *Midrash Tanhuma* states:³⁷²

Just as a navel is set in the middle of a person, so the land of Israel is the navel of the world.³⁷³ Thus it is stated (in Ezekiel 38:12): “Who dwell on the navel of

the earth.”³⁷⁴ The land of Israel sits at the center of the world; Jerusalem is in the center of the land of Israel; the sanctuary is in the center of Jerusalem; the Temple building is in the center of the sanctuary; the ark is in the center of the Temple building; and the foundation stone, out of which the world was founded, is before the Temple building.



Figure 6-3. Masjid al-Haram at Night

In the symbolism of the sacred center, the circle is generally used to represent heaven, while the square typically signifies earth.³⁷⁵ Among other things, the intersection of the circle and square can be seen as depicting the coming together of heaven and earth in both the sacred geometry of the temple and the soul of the disciple.³⁷⁶ For example, the above photograph shows the sacred mosque of Mecca during the peak period of *hajj*.³⁷⁷ As part of the ritual of *tawaf*, *hajj* pilgrims enact the symbolism of the circle and the square as they form concentric rings around the rectangular *Ka'bah*.³⁷⁸ Islamic tradition says that near this location Adam had been shown the worship place of angels, which was directly above the *Ka'bah* in heaven,³⁷⁹ and that he was commanded to build a house for God in Mecca where he could, in likeness of the angels, “circumambulate... and offer prayer.”³⁸⁰



Figure 6-4. Gali Tibbon, 1973-: Catholic Clergy Circle the Edicule, 2009

We see the same symbolism at work in this photograph, which shows Catholic clergy with lighted candles moving in a circle around the rectangular edicule within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³⁸¹ This procession echoes the circumambulation on the walls of Jerusalem³⁸² and around the altar of its temple in ancient times.³⁸³ “In the procession around the altar, some scholars have suggested that tree branches and a citrus fruit (representing the Tree of Life’s branches and fruit) were carried and waved.”³⁸⁴

Could any of this imagery be related to that of Israelite “prayer circles” of the sort deduced by Donald Parry from his study of Psalm 24? “He argues that 24:6 should be translated: ‘This is the circle (reading *dur* instead of *dôr*) of them that inquire of him, that seek the face of the God of Jacob.’ He notes that this could have reference to a religious prayer circle, in which the participants inquire of, or pray to, the Lord in hopes to see his face.”³⁸⁵



Figure 6-5. Gustave Doré, 1832-1883: *The Empyrean*, 1857

Here we see Doré’s famous illustration of the “empyrean heaven.”³⁸⁶ This is a representation of the highest heaven as a realm lighted by the pure fire of God’s glory.³⁸⁷ Since, in this instance, the sacred center is located in heaven rather than earth, it is shown as a circle rather than a square. The heavenly throne is, in the words of Lehi, “surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising their God.”³⁸⁸ Nibley points out: “A concourse is a circle. Of course [numberless] concourses means circles within circles and reminds you of dancing. And what were they doing? Surrounded means ‘all around’... It was a choral dance.”³⁸⁹

The sacred center does not ultimately represent some abstract epitome of goodness, nor merely a ceremonial altar or throne, but rather the presence of God Himself. The circle of human petitioners formed on earth around the square altar is, as it were, in likeness of the concourses of heavenly hosts who encircle the divine round in the celestial world. While the focal point in heaven is clearly the Father, ancient texts tell us that the corresponding figure on earth is the Son. For example, the Gnostic *Acts of John* records that a prayer circle was formed by Jesus’ apostles, with the Savior at the center: “So he told us to form a circle, holding one another’s hands, and himself stood in the middle.”³⁹⁰

When the Savior prays to the Father: “Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven,”³⁹¹ He is to be understood as enjoining something more from us than the mere motions of imitation. Above anything else, such prayer anticipates the complete fulfillment of the Savior’s Atonement, whereby not only the hearts and minds of participants in the earthly circle are made one among themselves, but also they are prepared for an imminent (re)union with celestial beings in the divine sphere. Describing the connection between the earthly and the heavenly realms in the quorum of ten men forming a Jewish *minyan* for prayer, Kogan writes: “On one level, the body that is formed below, the actual *minyan*, is entered by the *Shekinah* (the supernal holiness), and is thus the point of contact between God and Israel. Simultaneously, the *minyan* formed in the proper manner below unifies the heavenly realm above.”³⁹²

The center is the *most* holy place, and the degree of holiness decreases in proportion to the distance from that center.³⁹³ For example, S. Kent Brown observes how at His first appearance to the Nephites Jesus “stood in the midst of them,”³⁹⁴ and cites other Book of Mormon passages associating the presence of the Lord “in the midst” to the placement of the temple and its altar.³⁹⁵ He also noted a similar configuration when Jesus blessed the Nephite children:

As the most Holy One, [the Savior] was standing “in the midst,” at the sacred center.³⁹⁶ The children sat “upon the ground round about him.”³⁹⁷ When the angels “came down,” they “encircled those little ones about.” In their place next to the children, the angels themselves “were encircled about with fire.”³⁹⁸ On the edge stood the adults. And beyond them was... profane space which stretched away from this holy scene...³⁹⁹

Jesus’ placement of the children so that they immediately surrounded Him—their proximity exceeding even that of the encircling angels and accompanying fire—conveyed a powerful visual message about their holiness: namely, that “whosoever... shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.”⁴⁰⁰ Hence, Jesus’ instructions to them: “Behold your little ones.”⁴⁰¹



Figure 6-6. David Lindsley, 1954-: *Behold Your Little Ones*, 1983

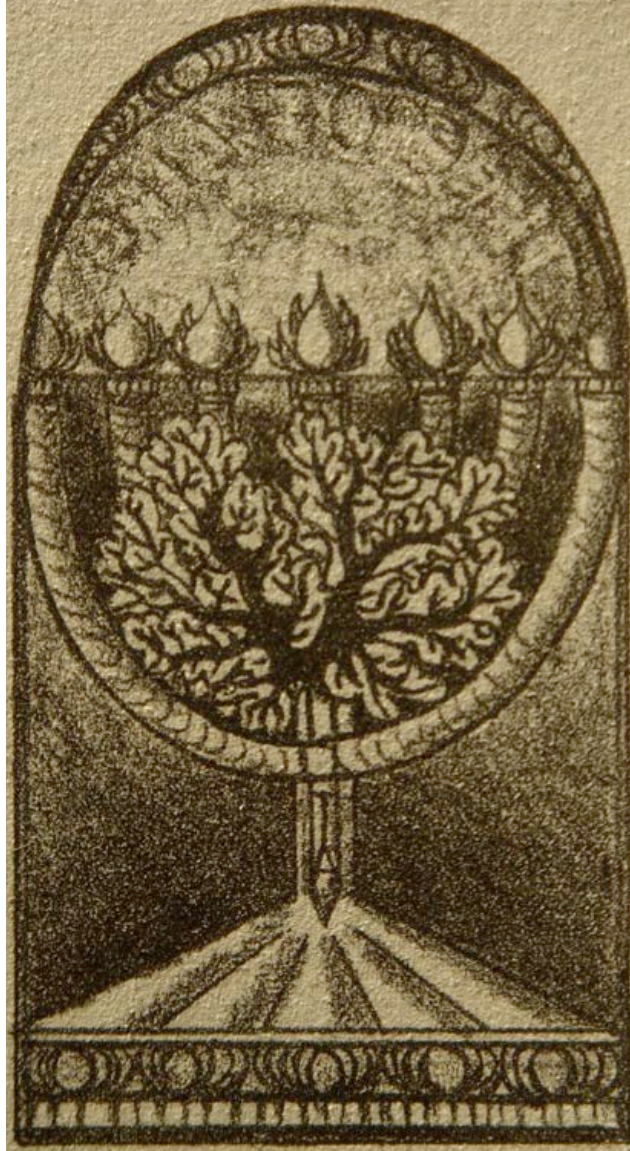


Figure 6-7. Dixie L. Majers, 1934-: *Lit Menorah with Tree of Life*, 1985

Moses' vision of the burning bush brings together all three symbols of the sacred center: the tree, the mountain, and the Lord Himself. Directly tying this symbolism to the Jerusalem Temple, Nicolas Wyatt concludes: "The Menorah is probably what Moses is understood to have seen as the burning bush in Exodus 3."⁴⁰² Thus, Jehovah was represented to Moses as One who dwells on a holy mountain, in the midst of the burning glory of the Tree of Life.

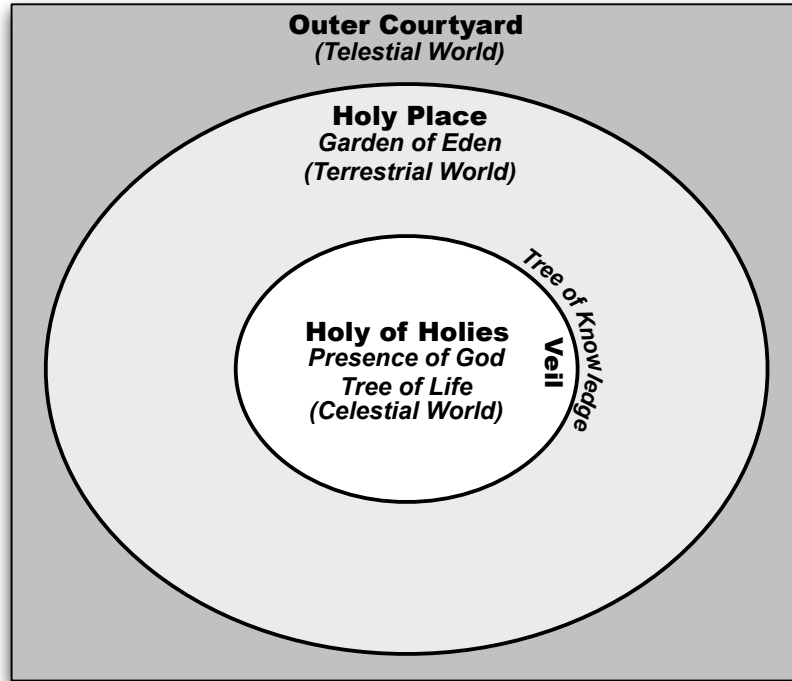


Figure 6-8. Zones of Sacredness in Eden and in the Temple

The Tree of Knowledge as the Veil of the Sanctuary

Having explored the concept of the sacred center, we will now return to the question of how both the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge could have shared the center of the Garden of Eden.

Perhaps the most interesting tradition about the placement of the two trees is the Jewish idea that the foliage of the Tree of Knowledge hid the Tree of Life from direct view, and that “God did not specifically prohibit eating from the Tree of Life because the Tree of Knowledge formed a hedge around it; only after one had partaken of the latter and cleared a path for himself could one come close to the Tree of Life.”⁴⁰³

It is in this same sense that Ephrem the Syrian could call the Tree of Knowledge “the veil for the sanctuary.”⁴⁰⁴ He pictured Paradise as a great mountain, with the Tree of Knowledge providing a boundary partway up the slopes. The Tree of Knowledge, Ephrem concludes, “acts as a sanctuary curtain [i.e., veil] hiding the Holy of Holies which is the Tree of Life higher up.”⁴⁰⁵ In addition to this inner boundary, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources sometimes speak of a “wall” surrounding whole of the Garden, separating it from the “outer courtyard” of the mortal world.⁴⁰⁶

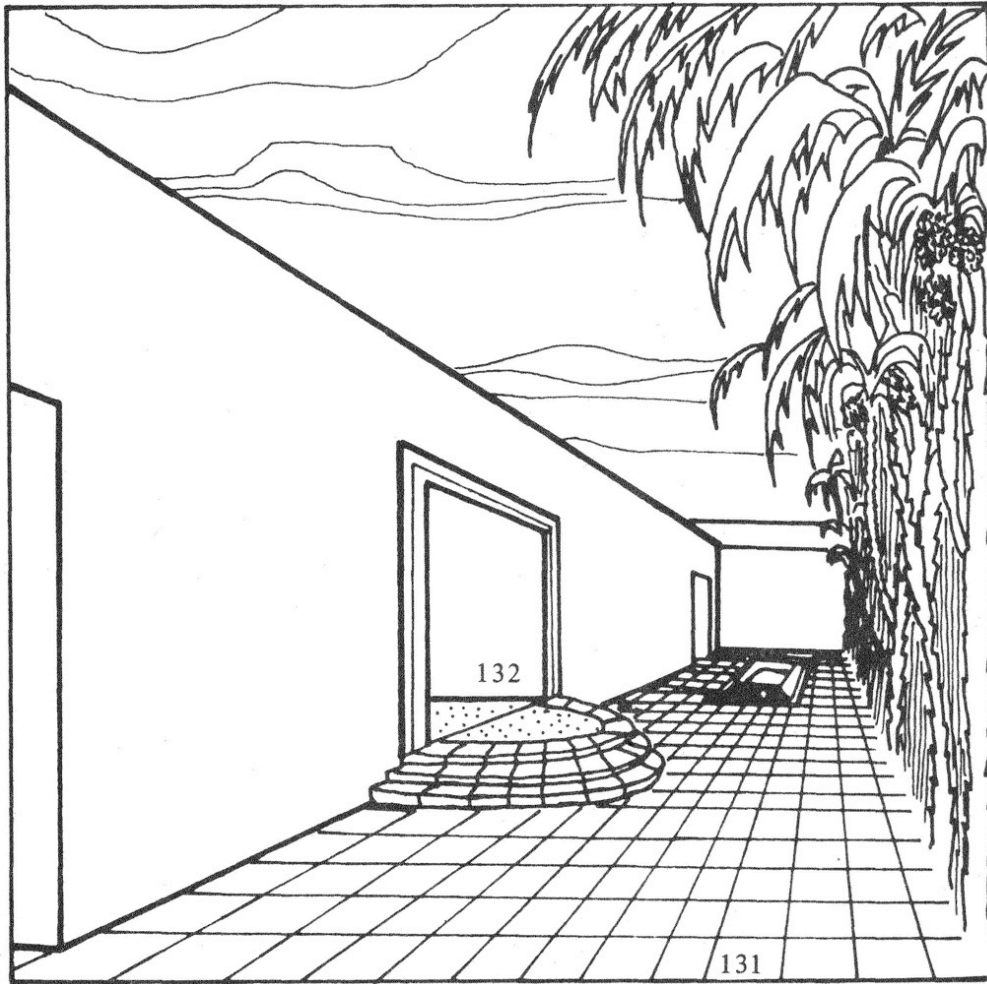


Figure 6-9. André Parrot, 1901-1980: Court of the Palms at Mari, ca. 1800 BCE

A parallel to the idea of one or a group of trees hedging a boundary between areas of a sanctuary or palace is shown in Parrot's conjectural reconstruction of the ancient Court of the Palms at Mari, where a line of palm trees may have stood in front of the audience chamber.⁴⁰⁷

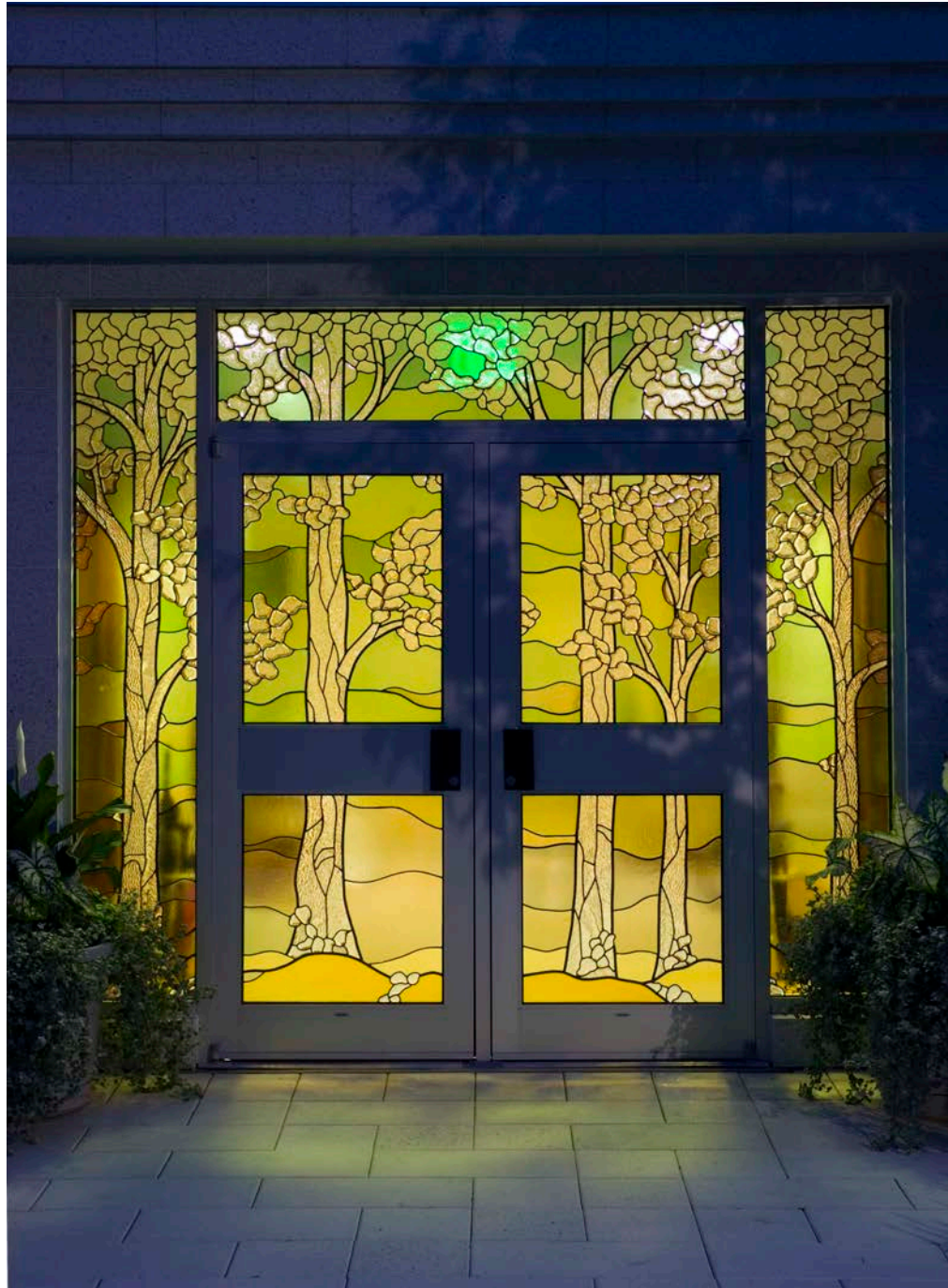


Figure 6-10. Val Brinkerhoff: Doors, Palmyra New York Temple

Such a line of trees is represented symbolically on the doors of the Palmyra New York Temple.

6. THE “SACRED CENTER” OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN



Figure 6-11. Palm Tree Hedge Near Brawley, California, 2008

Nature suggests how such a hedge might, with effort, be passable physically while still remaining impenetrable to the view.

That a difference in splendor between the two trees of Eden paralleled their separate locations is affirmed by a Gnostic text that describes the “color” of the Tree of Life as being “like the sun” and the “glory” of the Tree of Knowledge being “like the moon.”⁴⁰⁸ Describing a similar concept, an Armenian Christian text asserts that “the Tree of [Knowledge of] Good and Evil is the knowledge of material things”—referring to the kind of knowledge that was made available to Adam and Eve through the experience of mortality—“and that the Tree of Life is the knowledge of divine things, which were not profitable to the simple understanding of Adam”—at least not until after he had successfully passed through his period of probation.⁴⁰⁹

Also consistent with the idea of a three-part layout of the Garden of Eden is evidence cited by Barker that, in the first temple, a Tree of Life was symbolized *within* the Holy of Holies.⁴¹⁰ By way of contrast, most depictions of Jewish temple

architecture show a menorah as being *outside* the veil. Barker concludes that the Menorah (or perhaps a second, different, representation in arboreal form?) was both removed from the temple and diminished in stature in later Jewish literature as the result of a “very ancient feud” concerning its significance.⁴¹¹ Mandaean scripture describes a Tree of Life within the *heavenly* sanctuary as follows: “They... lifted the great veil of safety upward before him, introduced him, and showed him that Vine,” meaning the Tree of Life.⁴¹²

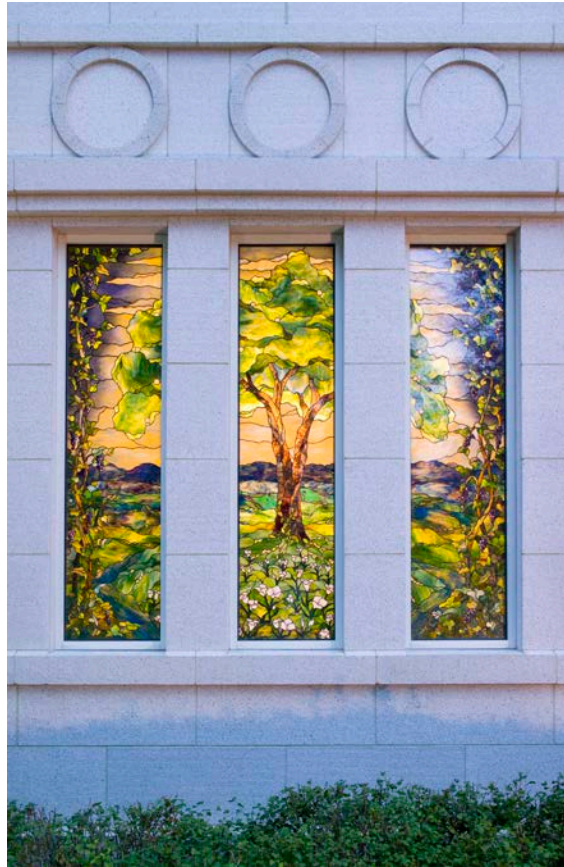


Figure 6-12. Val Brinkerhoff: *Tree of Life*, Winter Quarters Nebraska Temple

In this connection, note that although the trees of Eden have been associated with the Garden Room of LDS temples since the time of Nauvoo,⁴¹³ representations relating to the eschatological Tree of Life are centered on the Celestial Room. For example, the Celestial Room of the Salt Lake Temple is “richly embellished with clusters of fruits and flowers.”⁴¹⁴ The Celestial Room of the Palmyra New York Temple features a large stained-glass window depicting a Tree of Life with “twelve bright multifaceted crystal fruits.”⁴¹⁵ The stained glass Tree of Life shown here is from the Winter Quarters Nebraska Temple.

6. THE "SACRED CENTER" OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN



Figure 6-13. Juan Bautista Villalpando, 1594-1605: *Holy of Holies*

Recall also that the Holy of Holies in Solomon's temple contained not only one but many palm trees and pillars which Stordalen says can be seen as representing "a kind of stylized forest."⁴¹⁶ The angels on the walls may have represented God's heavenly council,⁴¹⁷ or perhaps more generally the promise to the saints of communion with the "general assembly and church of the Firstborn,"⁴¹⁸ whose presence in heaven is mirrored on earth by those who have attained "angelic" status through being admitted to the presence of the Lord.⁴¹⁹ A christianized version of such imagery is suggested by the Chapter House in Worcester Cathedral, England, with "traces of painted drapery and angels in the bays and remains of a Tree of Jesse curling around the central pillar."⁴²⁰



Figure 6-14. Chapter House in Worcester Cathedral, England, 13th century

6. THE “SACRED CENTER” OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN

Temple	Eden	Ark	Sinai
Holy of Holies	Summit/Heights - God-Tree of Life - The Victorious	Upper Deck - Deity - Noah	Summit/Heights - The Glorious One - Moses
Veil	Tree of Knowledge		
Holy Place	Slopes - Adam and Eve - The Righteous	Middle Part - Birds	Halfway Up - Aaron Round About - Priests
Outer Courtyard	Lower Slopes - Animals - Penitent Sinners	Lower Part - Animals	Below - People

Figure 6-15. Ephrem’s Conception of Eden

Movement inward toward the sacred center is symbolically equivalent to moving upward toward the top of the sacred mountain. In describing his conception of Eden, Ephrem cited parallels with the division of the animals on Noah’s ark and the demarcations on Sinai separating Moses, Aaron, the priests, and the people, as shown here.⁴²¹ Recall that on Sinai, Israel was gathered in three groups: “the masses at the foot of the mountain, where they viewed God’s ‘Presence’ from afar; the Seventy part way up; and Moses at the very top, where he entered directly into God’s presence.”⁴²²

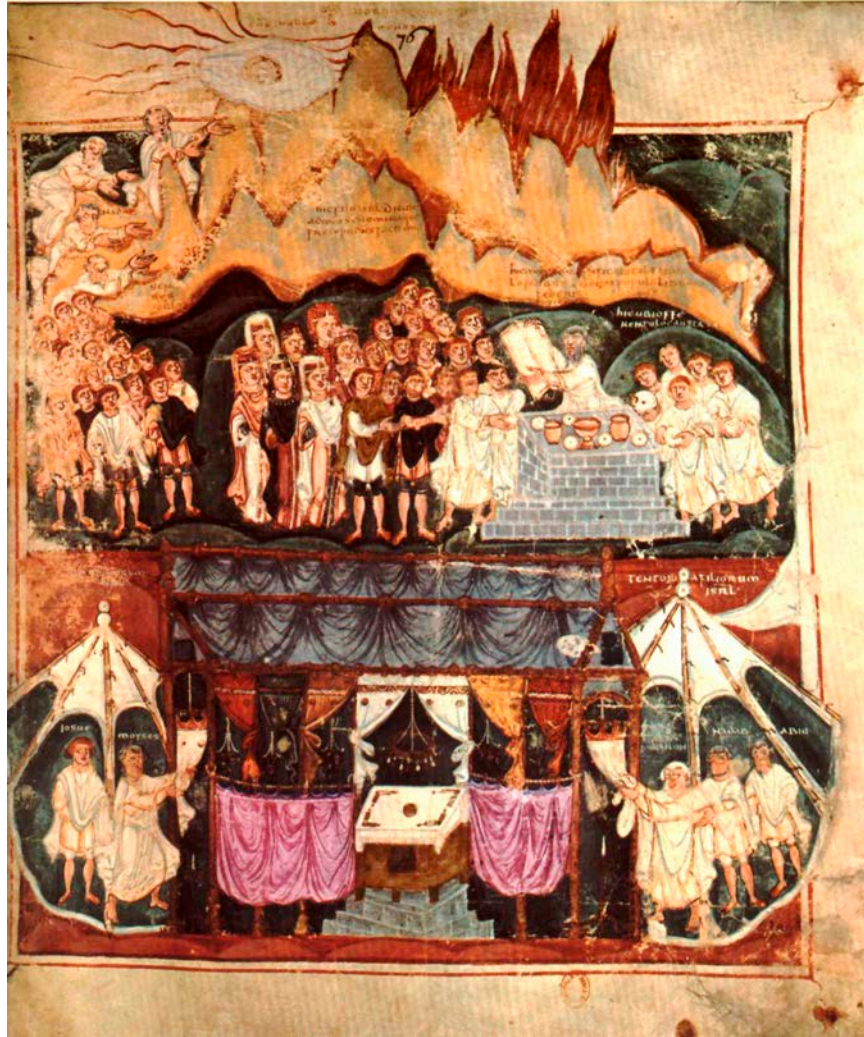


Figure 6-16. *Mount Sinai and the Tabernacle, Tours Pentateuch, ca. 600*

The same three divisions appear in an illustration from the *Tours Pentateuch*. The ostensible subject of this illustration is Moses and his people on Sinai, though the details clearly indicate the performance of Christian rather than Jewish worship⁴²³ as well as parallels to pseudepigraphic Adam and Eve traditions.⁴²⁴ Moses, in the top register, “accompanied by Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, approaches the Lord, whose head appears in a cloud at the top of Mount Sinai.”⁴²⁵ Within the cave in the middle scene, is a gathering of Christians who, like ancient Israel, renew their covenants under the direction of Moses.⁴²⁶ At the bottom, is a Christianized version of the Tabernacle.⁴²⁷ Here, the ancient leaders of Israel part an outer veil, earnestly inviting all those outside the covenant to enter in and begin their ascent of the sacred mountain of the Lord.



Figure 6-17. Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: Noah Sees the Ark in Vision

Regarding Ephrem's discussion of the story of Noah, recall that the Ark, like the Garden of Eden, "was designed as a temple."⁴²⁸ In this case, however, the Ark was, like the later Tabernacle, a *mobile* sanctuary that was constructed in similitude of God's portable pavilion or chariot.⁴²⁹ In this detail from a window of the Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-upon-Avon, England, God shows the plans for the Ark to Noah just as He later showed Moses the plans for the Tabernacle. The hands of Deity hold the heavenly curtain as Noah, compass in his left hand, regards intently.

The Ark and the Tabernacle are the only two structures mentioned in the Bible whose designs were directly revealed by God. The Ark's three decks suggest the divisions of the Tabernacle and the layout of Eden. Indeed, each deck of Noah's Ark was exactly "the same height as the Tabernacle and three times the area of the Tabernacle court."⁴³⁰

In summary, Ephrem's conception of the arrangement of Eden is consistent with the ancient view of the sacred center and its three major divisions as found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. Significantly, his perspective suggests that the Tree of Life was planted in an inner place so holy that Adam and Eve would court mortal danger if they entered uninvited and unprepared. Though God could minister to them in the Garden, they could not, as yet, safely enter His world.⁴³¹

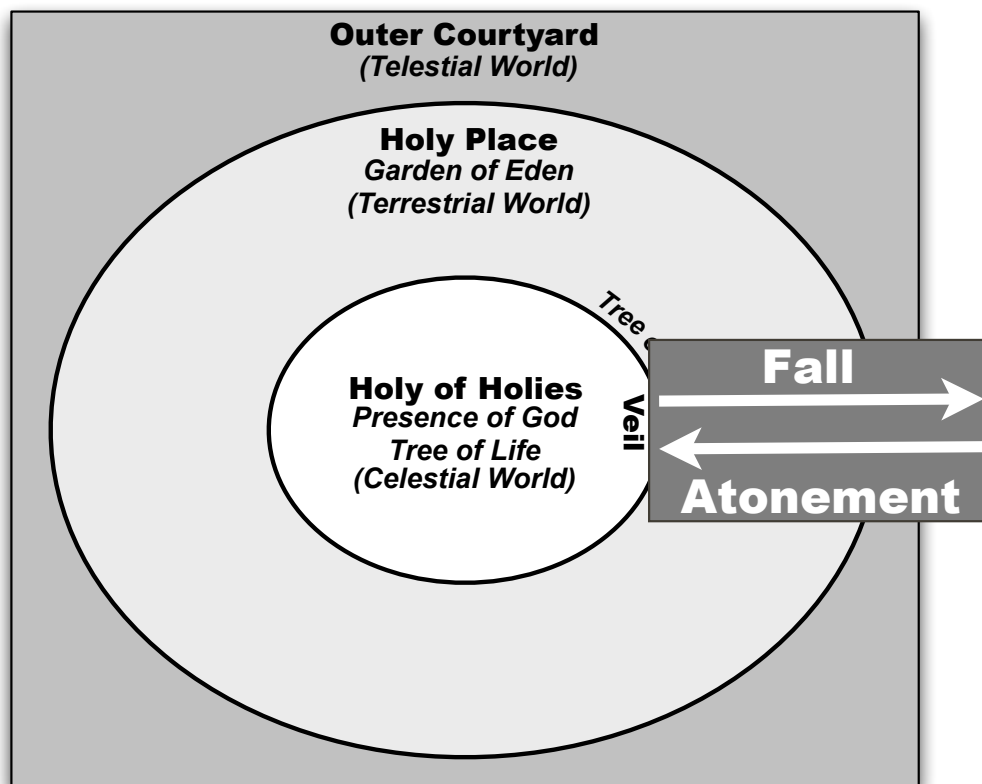
“Eastward in Eden”

Figure 6-18. Linear View Projected on the Circular Depiction of Eden

The figure shown here illustrates how circular and linear depictions of the layout of the Garden of Eden can be reconciled. Note also how some modern temples feature a linear progression toward a celestial room at the west end of the building,⁴³² whereas in others the movement is in an increasingly inward direction. For example, in the Ogden and Provo Utah temples, “six ordinance rooms [are] surrounded by an exterior hallway” with the “celestial room... in the building’s center.”⁴³³

The “eastward” location of the Garden may thus be explained by its position relative to the Creator at the sacred center. Note that the initial separation of Adam and Eve from God occurred when they were removed from His presence to be placed in the Garden “eastward in Eden”⁴³⁴—that is, east of the “mountain” where, in some representations of the sacred geography of Paradise, He is said to dwell. Such an interpretation also seems to be borne out in later events, as eastward movement is repeatedly associated with increasing distance from God.⁴³⁵

For example, after God's voice of judgment visited them from the west,⁴³⁶ Adam and Eve experienced an additional degree of separation when they were expelled through the Garden's eastern gate.⁴³⁷ Cain was "shut out from the presence of the Lord" as he resumed the journey eastward to dwell "in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden,"⁴³⁸ a journey that eventually continued in the same direction—"from the east" to the "land of Shinar"—to the place where the Tower of Babel was constructed.⁴³⁹ Finally, Lot traveled east toward Sodom and Gomorrah when he separated himself from Abraham.⁴⁴⁰

On the other hand, westward movement is often used to symbolize return and restoration of blessings. Abraham's "return from the east is [a] return to the Promised Land and... the city of 'Salem,'"⁴⁴¹ being "directed toward blessing."⁴⁴² The Magi of the Nativity likewise came "from the east," westward to Bethlehem, their journey symbolically enacting a restoration of temple and priesthood blessings that had been lost from the earth.⁴⁴³ Finally, the glorious return of Jesus Christ when He "shall suddenly come to his temple"⁴⁴⁴ is likewise represented as an east-to-west movement: "For as the light of the morning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, and covereth the whole earth, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be."⁴⁴⁵

Conclusions

The central position of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden provides a parallel to the presence of God in the midst of His temple. The Tree of Knowledge may be a symbol of the protective veil initially concealing the Tree of Life from Adam and Eve. After their transgression of God's "first commandments,"⁴⁴⁶ God placed cherubim and a flaming sword to prevent their premature entry into His presence, and sent Adam and Eve away "eastward." However, God also provided a set of "second commandments"⁴⁴⁷ that would eventually enable the return of all those who would fully avail themselves of the gift of the Atonement.

6. THE “SACRED CENTER” OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN

7. The False and the True “Keeper of the Gate”

IN the Prophet Joseph Smith’s teachings and revelations, Lucifer⁴⁴⁸ is described as “a son of the morning” and “an angel of God who was in authority in the presence of God” who “rebelled... and sought to take the kingdom of our God and his Christ.”⁴⁴⁹ He was jealous,⁴⁵⁰ “selfish, ambitious, and striving to excel,”⁴⁵¹ and “became Satan”⁴⁵² as he wickedly sought that God should give him His “own power.”⁴⁵³

Below, I will outline elements of what seems to be temple symbolism in Satan’s efforts to provoke the Fall of Adam and Eve. As background for this interpretation, I summarize the episode of Adam’s giving of names as presented in Islamic literature and suggest how this motif might relate to temple practices elsewhere in the ancient world. Following a brief examination of the differences between the programs of God and Satan during Adam and Eve’s sojourn in the Garden, I will show how Satan’s efforts to confuse and deceive them were a direct continuation of his failed attempt to dethrone God at the time of his first rebellion.⁴⁵⁴ Finally, I will contrast the actions of this false commissioner⁴⁵⁵ to those of the true “keeper of the gate.”⁴⁵⁶

The Giving of Names by Adam

Moses 3:19 tells the story of how Adam gave names to all the animals:

And out of the ground I, the Lord God, formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and commanded that they should come unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and they were also living souls; for I, God, breathed into them the breath of life, and commanded that whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that should be the name thereof.

The story of Adam’s naming of the animals is curiously absent in the *Qur’an*. However, an intriguing related tradition appears in its place.⁴⁵⁷ As depicted in the illustration below, the story tells of how Adam—before the Fall and after having been given instruction by God—was directed to recite a series of secret names to the angels in order to convince them that he was worthy of the elevated status of priest and king that had been conferred upon him.⁴⁵⁸ Zilio-Grandi perceptively contrasts the Islamic and Old Testament accounts:

While in the Bible God lets Adam choose the names of things, in the *Qur’an* it is God who teaches—who reveals therefore—the names to Adam.... Extremely high value is attributed to knowledge... Indeed, it is not by obedience that the ability to represent God in the governance of the world is measured, but by knowledge.⁴⁵⁹



Figure 7-1. Angels Prostrating Themselves before the Enthroned Adam, 1576

With respect to Adam’s accomplishment before the Fall, *Qur’an* commentators themselves “dispute which particular names were involved; various theories [taking the position that] they were the names of all things animate and inanimate, the names of the angels, the names of his own descendants, or the names of God.”⁴⁶⁰ *Al-Mizan* asserts that this was not a simple dictionary recital showing off the power of Adam’s memory, but rather “something totally different from what we understand from the knowledge of names.”⁴⁶¹ Alusi concludes that Adam’s saying of these names is “in the end, like saying the names of God, for power concerns God Himself in His ruling of the world.”⁴⁶²

Additional evidence from Islamic sources connects the knowledge of names purportedly given to Adam to concepts that are associated elsewhere in the ancient world with temple practices. For instance, though Islamic sources studiously avoid any reference to atonement rituals associated with the Jewish temple, a similar *function* is accorded to knowledge of certain words made known by God to Adam. Describing a separate incident that was said to have occurred

after the Fall, Islamic writings recount that “Adam received (some) words from his Lord”⁴⁶³ that enabled him to repent and return to good standing with God, so he could eventually go back to the Garden of Eden.⁴⁶⁴ While *Al-Mizan* declines speculation about what specific words were revealed, it elaborates on their purpose:

It was this learning of the words that paved the way for the repentance of Adam... Probably, the words received at the time of repentance were related to the names taught to him in the beginning [i.e., before the Fall].... There must have been something in those names to wipe out every injustice, to erase every sin and to cure every spiritual and moral disease; ...those names were sublime creations hidden from the heavens and the earth; they were intermediaries to convey the grace and bounties of Allāh to His creation; and no creature would be able to attain to its perfection without their assistance.⁴⁶⁵

In the *Qur'an*, the means by which these “words” were meant to assist in the attainment of Adam’s perfection is left unspecified. However, an exchange of sacred words is implied in the accounts of conversations between Muhammad and heavenly guardians during his “night journey” (*isra*), when he ascended on a golden ladder (*mi'raj*) to the highest heaven.⁴⁶⁶ Moreover, the literature of mystical Judaism and Christian Gnosticism abounds with accounts of righteous prophets and sages who were taught how to advance past a series of celestial gatekeepers toward the presence of God by the memorization and use of sacred names and phrases.⁴⁶⁷

Whether or not such accounts reflect echoes of earthly *rituals* of heavenly ascent in some strands of Judaism and early Christianity is a matter of scholarly debate.⁴⁶⁸ However, John Gee has summarized evidence that the ritual theme of “getting past the gatekeeper” has a “long history” in *Egyptian* ritual.⁴⁶⁹ Admitting that his exploratory approach of “run[ning] roughshod over several texts not normally associated” cannot prove but only suggest a common tradition, he nonetheless concludes “that it might be reasonable to suggest that the Egyptian traditions might have influenced both Jewish and Christian traditions... The presence of gatekeepers, stronger in some texts than others, indicates a temple initiation in the Egyptian texts and therefore suggests an initiation in the Jewish and Christian texts.” “To say that the system represented in the texts was [merely] some form of ‘magic’ seems dubious and problematic.” Referring to Egyptian ritual, Hugh Nibley observes:

The importance of knowing the names of things and giving those names when challenged is more than the mere idea of the password; it is, according to Derchain, nothing less than the logical source of “the entire mechanism of

Egyptian mythology and liturgy”—namely, “the law which makes of the name a veritable attribute of the thing named.”⁴⁷⁰

As Nibley’s statement makes clear, what matters in such tests for knowledge is not merely the requirement to continually remember the name itself, but, in addition, the expectation that the one who bears the name has also taken upon himself the identity and attributes that go with it. Elder Dallin H. Oaks reminds us that, in the day of final judgment, it will not be enough to merely have gone through the motions of keeping the commandments and receiving the ordinances—the essential question will be what we have ourselves *become* during our period of probation.⁴⁷¹ Hugh Nibley further elaborates, explaining that, for the same reason, the saving ordinances, as necessary as they are, in and of themselves “are mere forms. They do not exalt us; they merely prepare us to be ready in case we ever become eligible.”⁴⁷²

In the end, eligibility for entrance into the presence of God reflects the results of the process of sanctification, being predicated on the righteous exercise of agency coupled with the atoning power of Jesus Christ.⁴⁷³ Speaking plainly on this topic, the Prophet declared that being “born again comes by the Spirit of God through ordinances”⁴⁷⁴—with the understanding that the bestowal of these ordinances and keys will continue even in the next life.⁴⁷⁵

Differences Between the Programs of God and Satan

Consistent with the Prophet’s character sketch of the arch criminal and deceiver given earlier, William Blake’s image of Lucifer emphasizes his original glory while subtly conveying his consuming ambition to usurp God’s throne. Lucifer’s overall appearance is inspired from the Latin *Vulgate* translation of Ezekiel 28:14 that sees him as the “cherub with extensive wingspan.”⁴⁷⁶ The orb and scepter symbolize the power and authority from God given him before his fall from heaven.⁴⁷⁷

To highlight Lucifer’s perversity, Blake has conspicuously reversed the hands in which the emblems of monarchy are normally held. For example, in British coronation ceremonies, the sword⁴⁷⁸ is meant to be held in the *right* hand so that it may be used “to stop the growth of iniquity, protect the Holy Church of God and defend widows and orphans.”⁴⁷⁹ The Orb—a late replacement for the original symbolism of the incense offering of temple priests in Israel⁴⁸⁰—is to be held in the *left* hand in order to signify “the domination of Christ over the whole world.”⁴⁸¹



Figure 7-2. William Blake, 1757-1827: Satan in His Original Glory, ca. 1805



Figure 7-3. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ca. 1525-1569: *Fall of Rebel Angels*, 1562

The battle begun in the premortal councils and waged again in the Garden of Eden was a test of obedience for Adam and Eve. However, it should be remembered that the actual prize at stake was knowledge—the knowledge required for them to be saved and, ultimately, to be exalted. The Prophet taught that the “principle of knowledge is the principle of salvation,”⁴⁸² therefore “anyone that cannot get knowledge to be saved will be damned.”⁴⁸³

This raises a question: Since salvation was to come through knowledge, why did Satan encourage—rather than prevent—the eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge by Adam and Eve? Surprisingly, the scriptural story makes it evident that their transgression must have been as much an important part of the Devil’s strategy as it was a central feature of the Father’s plan. In this one respect, the programs of God and Satan seem to have had something in common.

However, the difference in intention between God and Satan became apparent when it was time for Adam and Eve to take the *next* step.⁴⁸⁴ In this regard, the scriptures seem to suggest that the Adversary wanted Adam and Eve to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Life *directly after* they partook of the Tree of Knowledge—a danger that moved God to take immediate preventive action by the placement of the cherubim and the flaming sword.⁴⁸⁵ For had Adam and Eve eaten of the fruit of the Tree of Life at that time, “there would have been no death” and no “space

granted unto man in which he might repent”—in other words no “probationary state” to prepare for a final judgment and resurrection.⁴⁸⁶

It is easy to see a parallel between Satan’s initial proposal in the spirit world and his later strategy to “frustrate” the plan of salvation through his actions in Eden. Just as his defeated premortal scheme had proposed to provide a limited measure of “salvation” for all by precluding the opportunity for exaltation,⁴⁸⁷ so it seems that his unsuccessful scheme in the Garden was intended to impose an inferior form of immortality that would have forestalled the possibility of eternal life.⁴⁸⁸ Fortunately, however, because the Devil “knew not the mind of God,” his efforts “to destroy the world”⁴⁸⁹ would be in vain: the result of his deceitful manipulations to get Adam and Eve to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was co-opted⁴⁹⁰ by God, and the risk of Adam and Eve’s partaking immediately of the fruit of the Tree of Life was averted by the merciful placement of the cherubim and flaming sword.

The Father did intend—eventually—for Adam and Eve to partake of the Tree of Life, but not until they had learned through mortal experience to distinguish good from evil.⁴⁹¹

With this understanding as a background, let us examine the story of the Fall in more detail.

Satan’s Strategy for Confusion and Deception

The serpent, Satan’s *alter ego* (or perhaps his associate⁴⁹²), is described as “subtle.”⁴⁹³ The Hebrew term behind the word thus depicts it as shrewd, cunning, and crafty, but not as wise.⁴⁹⁴ “Subtle,” in this context, also has to do with the ability to make something appear one way when it is actually another. Thus, it is not in the least out of character later for Satan both to disguise his identity and to distort the true nature of a situation in order to deceive.⁴⁹⁵

At the moment of temptation, Satan deliberately tries to confuse Eve. The Devil—and the scripture reader—know that there are two trees in the midst of the Garden, but only one of them is visible to Eve.⁴⁹⁶ Moreover, as Margaret Barker explains:

...he made the two trees seem identical: the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil would open her eyes, and she would be like God, knowing both good and evil. Almost the same was true of the Tree of Life, for Wisdom opened the eyes of those who ate her fruit, and as they became wise, they became divine.⁴⁹⁷



Figure 7-4. Giuliano Bugiardini, 1475-1554: *Adam, Eve (detail)*, ca. 1510

A second theme of confusion stems from Satan’s efforts to mask his identity. The painting shown here portrays the Tempter in the dual guise of a serpent and a woman whose hair and facial features exactly mirror those of Eve. This common form of medieval portrayal was not intended to assert that the woman was devilish, but rather to depict the Devil as trying to allay Eve’s fears, deceptively appealing to her by appearing in a form that resembled her own.⁴⁹⁸

However, the more pertinent aspect of Satan’s deceptive appearance to Eve in the Garden of Eden is the symbolism of the serpent itself. Of great significance here is the fact that the serpent is a frequently used representation of Christ and his life-giving power.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, with specific relevance to the location of his appearance to Eve, evidence suggests that the form of the Seraphim, whose function it was to guard the Divine Throne, was that of a fiery winged serpent.⁵⁰⁰ In the context of the temptation of Eve, Richard D. Draper, S. Kent Brown, and Michael D. Rhodes conclude that Satan “has effectively come as the Messiah, offering a promise that only the Messiah can offer, for it is the Messiah who will control the powers of life and death and can promise life, not Satan.”⁵⁰¹ Not only has the Devil come in guise of the Holy One, he seems to have deliberately appeared, without authorization, at a most sacred place in the Garden of Eden.⁵⁰² If it is true, as Ephrem the Syrian believed, that the Tree of Knowledge was a figure for “the veil for the sanctuary,”⁵⁰³ then Satan has positioned himself, in the extreme of sacrilegious effrontery, as the very “keeper of the gate.”⁵⁰⁴ Thus, in the apt words of Catherine Thomas, Eve was induced to take the fruit “from the wrong hand, having listened to the wrong voice.”⁵⁰⁵

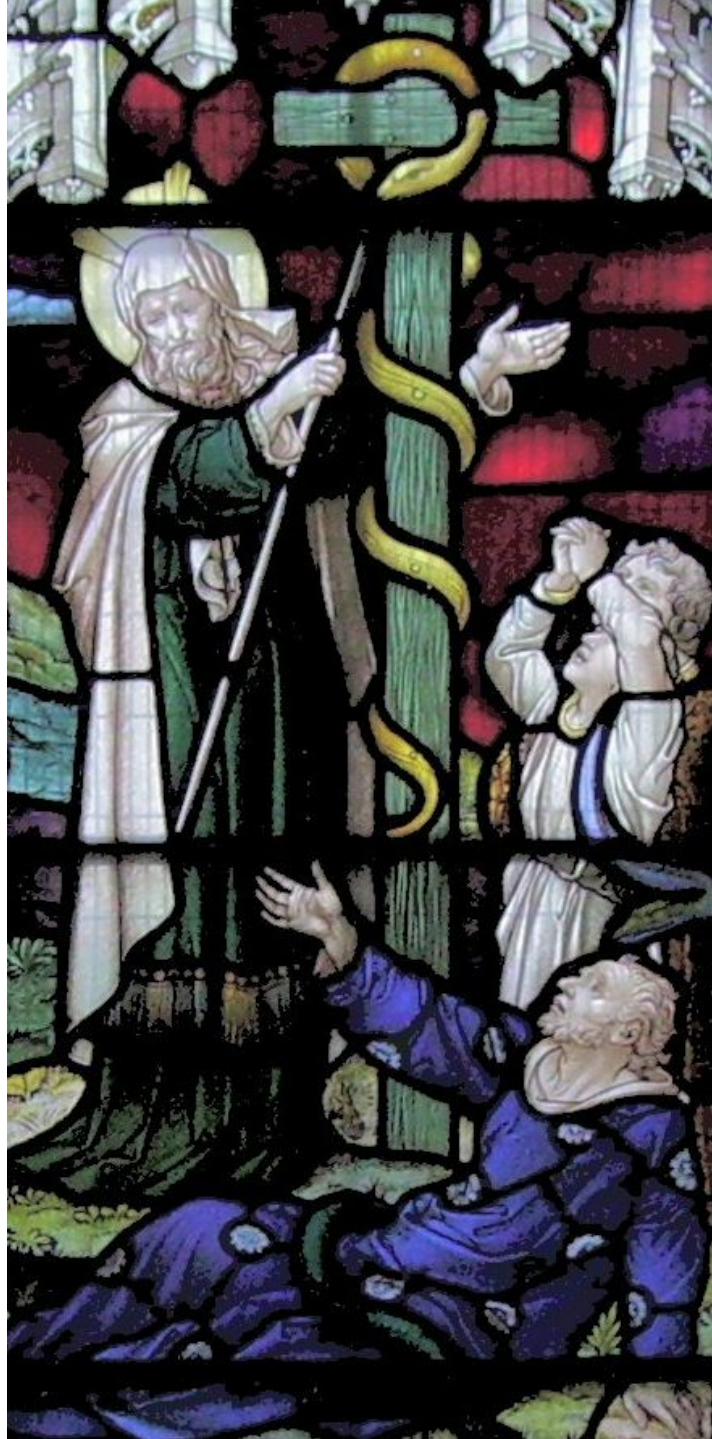


Figure 7-5. Moses and the Brazen Serpent (detail), ca. 1866

The Forbidden Fruit as a Form of Knowledge

Whether speaking of the heavenly temple or of its earthly models, the theme of access to hidden knowledge is inseparably connected with the passage through the veil. With respect to the heavenly temple, scripture and tradition amply attest of how a knowledge of eternity is available to those who are permitted to enter the heavenly veil.⁵⁰⁶ For example, Jewish and Christian accounts speak of a “blueprint” of eternity that is worked out in advance and shown on the inside of the veil to prophetic figures as part of their heavenly ascent.⁵⁰⁷ In a similar vein, Islamic tradition speaks of a “white cloth from Paradise” upon which Adam saw the fate of his posterity.⁵⁰⁸ Nibley gave the “great round” of the hypocephalus as an example of an attempt to capture the essence of such pictures of eternity among the Egyptians, and showed how similar concepts pervade the literature of other ancient cultures.⁵⁰⁹

With respect to earthly temples, a conventional answer to the question of what kind of knowledge the tree provided is supplied by Psalm 19:7-9 where, in parallel to the description of the forbidden fruit in Genesis 3:6 (“pleasant to the sight, good for food and to be desired to make one wise”), God’s law is described as “making wise the simple, rejoicing the heart and enlightening the eyes.” Gordon Wenham observes:⁵¹⁰

The law was of course kept in the Holy of Holies: the decalogue inside the ark and the book of the law beside it.⁵¹¹ Furthermore, Israel knew that touching the ark or even seeing it uncovered brought death, just as eating from the Tree of Knowledge did.⁵¹²

However, given explicit admissions about elements of the First Temple that were later lost, plausibly including things that were once contained in the temple ark, it is reasonable to conjecture that the knowledge in question may have included something more than the Ten Commandments and the *Torah* as we now know them.⁵¹³ Having carefully scrutinized the evidence, Margaret Barker concluded that the lost items were “all associated with the high priesthood.”⁵¹⁴ Also probing the significance of the lost furniture “list of the schoolmen,” Nibley, like Barker, specifically connects the missing “five things” to lost ordinances of the High Priesthood.⁵¹⁵ By piecing together the ancient sources, it can be surmised that the knowledge revealed to those made wise through entering in to the innermost sanctuary of the Temple of Solomon included an understanding of premortal life, the order of creation, and the eternal covenant⁵¹⁶—and that it “provided a clue to the pattern and future destiny of the universe”⁵¹⁷ that “gave power over creation” when used in righteousness.⁵¹⁸ The rending of the veil at the death of Christ thus symbolizes not only renewed access to the divine presence in heaven but also to the knowledge revealed in earthly temples that makes such access possible.⁵¹⁹



Figure 7-6. William Bell Scott, 1811-1890: *The Rending of the Veil*, 1867-1868

Consistent with this general idea, Islamic legend insists that the reason Satan was condemned after the Fall was because he had claimed that he would reveal a knowledge of certain things to Adam and Eve.⁵²⁰ In deceptive counterpoint to God's authentic teachings to Adam in the Islamic version of the naming episode,⁵²¹ Satan is portrayed as recruiting his accomplice, the "fair and prudent" serpent, by promising that he would reveal to it "three mysterious words" which would "preserve [it] from sickness, age, and death."⁵²² Having by this means won over the serpent, Satan then directly equates the effect of knowing these secret words with the eating of the forbidden fruit by promising the same protection from death to Eve, if she will but partake.⁵²³

The fifteenth-century *Adamgirk* asks: "... if a good secret [or mystery⁵²⁴] was in [the evil fruit], why did [God] say not to draw near?"⁵²⁵ and then answers its own question implicitly. Simply put, the gift by which Adam and Eve would "become divine,"⁵²⁶ and for which the Tree of Knowledge constituted a part of the approach, was, as yet, "an unattainable thing [t]hat was *not in its time*."⁵²⁷ Though God intended Adam and Eve to advance in knowledge, the condemnation of

7. THE FALSE AND THE TRUE “KEEPER OF THE GATE”

Satan seems to have come because he had acted without authorization, in the realization that introducing the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge to Adam and Eve under circumstances of disobedience and unpreparedness would bring the consequences of the Fall upon them, putting them in a position of mortal danger.

Note that the knowledge itself was good—indeed it was absolutely necessary for their exaltation. However, some kinds of knowledge are reserved to be revealed by God Himself “in his own time, and in his own way, and according to his own will.”⁵²⁸ As Joseph Smith taught:

That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be, and often is, right under another. A parent may whip a child, and justly, too, because he stole an apple; whereas if the child had asked for the apple, and the parent had given it, the child would have eaten it with a better appetite; there would have been no stripes; all the pleasure of the apple would have been secured, all the misery of stealing lost. This principle will justly apply to all of God’s dealings with His children. Everything that God gives us is lawful and right; and it is proper that we should enjoy His gifts and blessings whenever and wherever He is disposed to bestow; but if we should seize upon those same blessings and enjoyments without law, without revelation, without commandment, those blessings and enjoyments would prove cursings and vexations.⁵²⁹

By way of analogy to the situation of Adam and Eve and its setting in the temple-like layout of the Garden of Eden, recall that service in Israelite temples under conditions of worthiness was intended to sanctify the participants. However, as taught in Levitical laws of purity, doing the same “while defiled by sin, was to court unnecessary danger, perhaps even death.”⁵³⁰

Hugh Nibley succinctly sums up the situation: “Satan disobeyed orders when he revealed certain secrets to Adam and Eve, not because they were not known and done in other worlds, but because he was not authorized in that time and place to convey them.”⁵³¹ Although Satan had “given the fruit to Adam and Eve, it was not his prerogative to do so—regardless of what had been done in other worlds. (When the time comes for such fruit, it will be given us legitimately.)”⁵³²

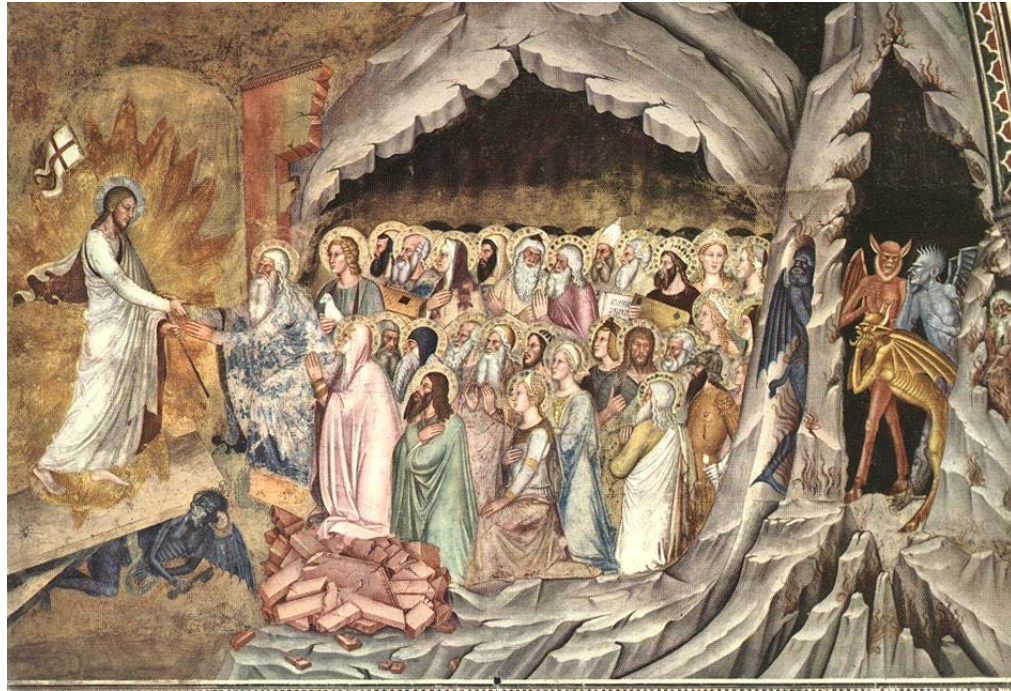


Figure 7-7. Andrea da Firenze, act. 1343-1377: *Descent of Christ to Limbo*, 1368

The True “Keeper of the Gate”

This work by Andrea da Firenze illustrates the descent of Jesus Christ, after His death and before His resurrection, into what is called in Roman Catholic tradition “Limbo.”⁵³³ Limbo was described as a place reserved for the just who died before Jesus Christ came to earth (Limbo of the Patriarchs) and also—in the Augustinian tradition at least—for infants who died before they could receive baptism and be freed from “original sin” (Limbo of Infants).⁵³⁴ Here, in a depiction of an event called “The Harrowing of Hell,”⁵³⁵ Jesus Christ is shown carrying a Crusader’s flag into the dominion of Death and Hell, whose broken gates are gaping wide.⁵³⁶ Satan, grasping a useless key, peers out from beneath the feet of the advancing Christ. Adam (recognizable here by his long white hair and beard) and Eve (at his arm) are shown as the first ones to be reclaimed by Christ, followed by Abel (carrying a lamb), and other notables including Abraham, David, and Solomon. As they are brought forth, Adam, Eve, and the other just souls are typically shown in depictions of this scene as being taken by the right hand⁵³⁷ or pulled by the wrist from the place of death,⁵³⁸ emphasizing their utter dependence on the sure and steady strength of the Savior for their escape.⁵³⁹ Nibley paraphrases the teaching of the *Pistis Sophia*, which emphasizes that “[u]ntil Christ came... no soul had gone through the ordinances in their completeness. It was He who opened the gates and the way of life.”⁵⁴⁰



Figure 7-8. Ilya Efimovich Repin, 1844-1930: *Raising of Jairus' Daughter*, 1871

About this redemptive hour of unalloyed joy, Elder Neal A. Maxwell has written:

God's is a loving and redeeming hand which we are to acknowledge, for "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard."⁵⁴¹ Even His children in the telestial kingdom receive "the glory of the telestial, which surpasses all understanding."⁵⁴² He is an exceedingly generous God! ...One later day, Jesus' *hand* will not give the faithful merely a quick, approving pat on the shoulder. Instead, both Nephi and Mormon tell of the special reunion and welcome at the entrance to His kingdom. There, we are assured, He is "the keeper of the gate... and He employeth no servant there."⁵⁴³ Those who reject Him will miss out on a special personal moment, because, as He laments, He has "stood with *open arms* to receive you."⁵⁴⁴ The unfaithful—along with the faithful—might have been "clasped in the arms of Jesus."⁵⁴⁵ The imagery of the holy temples and holy scriptures thus blend so beautifully, including things pertaining to sacred moments. This is the grand moment toward which we point and from which we should not be deflected. Hence, those who pass through their fiery trials⁵⁴⁶ and still acknowledge but trust His hand now will feel the clasp of His arms later!⁵⁴⁷

Meanwhile: "One cannot read very far in the scriptures without realizing how much God has concentrated on giving us guidance for the journey between the two gates"⁵⁴⁸ of baptism and of celestial glory.

Conclusions

Satan deceived Adam and Eve by offering them fruit from the deceptively described Tree of Knowledge and by enacting a cynically false impersonation of the Savior. Having protected them from the intended consequences of the Devil's plan of entrapment, God instead offers the first couple and all their posterity the real thing: the fruit of the Tree of Life, the atoning power of the Redeemer to sustain them through their mortal probation, and, ultimately, an everlasting endowment of His power and glory.

7. THE FALSE AND THE TRUE “KEEPER OF THE GATE”

8. The False Apron and the Tree of Death and Rebirth

WE read in Moses 4:13 that after Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, “the eyes of them both were opened.” In other Old Testament instances, this phrase connotes a sudden vision of hidden things.⁵⁴⁹ Partaking of the fruit of the tree allowed Adam and Eve to begin to experience and distinguish good from evil—the “opposition in all things” described in 2 Nephi 2:11. In demonstration of her new capacity for discernment, Eve immediately “sees through Satan’s disguise of clever hypocrisy, identifies him, and exposes him for what he is.”⁵⁵⁰

By this change Adam and Eve also realize that they “had been naked.”⁵⁵¹ The Book of Mormon prophet Jacob equates a “perfect knowledge” of “nakedness” with “guilt” and “uncleanness” while associating the perfect knowledge of the “righteous” with “enjoyment” and “being clothed with purity, yea, even with the robe of righteousness.”⁵⁵²

Unlike the richly described, finely nuanced account of the temptation dialogue, the tightly coupled chain of verbs that follow it (“took,” “eat,” “gave,” “eat”) “indicate rapid, single-minded action”—nothing more is said, seen, or felt until the moment the eyes of Adam and Eve are opened.⁵⁵³ Then, at once, the hurried action restarts (“sewed,” “made”)—all the frantic movements proclaiming loudly, by their silent execution, the anguished undertone of shame and fear—“the physical act... as an expression of an inner state of an alarm.”⁵⁵⁴ The desired effect of this economical yet artful mode of narrative construction is to help the perceptive reader understand that the Lord God, Adam and Eve’s benevolent provider, who has been absent from their minds throughout the previous episode, has now reentered their thoughts with painful effect.

The False Apron

The derivation of the Hebrew term for apron (*‘agorah*), sometimes translated as “girdle,” confirms that this was an article of clothing intended to “enclose and cover the area of [the] lap or loins.”⁵⁵⁵ The fig tree has unusually large and strong leaves and its fruit is known for its abundance of seeds. Thus an apron of green fig leaves is an appropriate symbol for Adam and Eve’s ability to procreate, to “be fruitful and multiply”⁵⁵⁶ after the Fall.



Figure 8-1. Sacred Tree on the Apron of Charlemagne, 8th century

Ostensibly, the aprons functioned to hide Adam and Eve's nakedness—but is there more to the story than this? Ancient readers would have recognized the function of aprons in ritual context as a sign of power and authority. For example, a sacred tree was symbolically represented on an apron worn by the eighth-century Christian king Charlemagne, as in the figure above.⁵⁵⁷ In both Egypt and Mesoamerica,⁵⁵⁸ foliated aprons were also used as a sign of authority, and kings in the Near East were often described as various sorts of trees.⁵⁵⁹

In Moses 4:27, God Himself will be the one to clothe Adam and Eve, whereas in Moses 4:13 we were told that Adam and Eve “*made themselves aprons.*” Like their tasting of the forbidden fruit,⁵⁶⁰ the endeavor of Nimrod to build a tower to “reach unto heaven,”⁵⁶¹ Sarah's essay to realize the blessing of posterity through her

handmaiden Hagar,⁵⁶² and Rebekah's disguising of Jacob to assure that he would receive the birthright blessing,⁵⁶³ this action exemplifies the "recurring theme... of the attempt and failure of human effort in obtaining a blessing that only God can give."⁵⁶⁴

It is perfectly in character for Satan to have planted the suggestion of making their own aprons in the mind of Adam and Eve, since he often appropriates false signs of power and priesthoods for himself in order to deceive.⁵⁶⁵ Thus, we are not surprised to find the *Zohar* associating Adam and Eve's fig leaves with a knowledge of "sorcery and magic," false forms of "protection" and counterfeits of the true priesthood.⁵⁶⁶ Moreover, it is consistent with the plan of the Adversary to encourage sinners to flee from the presence of God rather than to reconcile and return to Him.⁵⁶⁷

In this instance, the contrast between the false apron made from leaves and the true clothing later made from the skins of animals seems paralleled in the story of Cain and Abel, where the former makes an unacceptable offering from the fruits of the ground while the latter follows the God-given pattern of animal sacrifice.⁵⁶⁸ Matthew B. Brown also reminds us about the lambskin aprons of the warring Lamanites in the Book of Mormon, bringing to mind the Lord's warning about "false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing."⁵⁶⁹

Note that Satan made three attempts to mislead Adam and Eve by false appearances. First, he made claims that confused the identities of Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life. Second, he appeared as a serpent, deceptively employing a symbol of Christ. Finally, in the episode of the fig-leaf aprons, he suggested a course of action to Adam and Eve that substituted a self-made emblem of power and priesthood for the true article obtainable only when authorized by God.

The Tree of Knowledge as a Symbol of Death and Rebirth

When Adam and Eve heard the voice of the Lord, the English text says that they "went to hide themselves from the presence of the Lord God *amongst the trees of the garden*."⁵⁷⁰ However the Hebrew for "tree," *etz*, can be read as singular or plural in this verse—an important subtlety glossed over in nearly every Bible translation. As a rare exception, André Chouraqui's French edition holds to a careful rendering of the key phrase describing Adam and Eve's place of concealment: "in the center of [i.e., within] the tree of the Garden."⁵⁷¹ As Kastler observes, "they are not merely touching the [Tree of Knowledge] but they have for all intents and purposes merged with it... The tree has become their refuge—or perhaps their prison."⁵⁷² They have experienced a kind of death.⁵⁷³



Figure 8-2. Alain Guilleux, 1966-: *Rameses II in the Ished-tree*, 13th century BCE

The image of the guilty parties, Adam and Eve, figuratively being shut up in a tree can be better understood when compared with Egyptian motifs, such as the one evoked by the figure of Rameses II acting in the role of Osiris, as shown above.⁵⁷⁴ Nibley also mentions “*Book of the Dead* vignettes showing the Lady incorporated—all but her upper part, and in many cases all but her arms only—in the fruit-bearing tree [suggesting] that the woman *in* the tree must actually have been eaten *by* it; she is the first victim, so to speak, and now invites her male companion to share her condition.”⁵⁷⁵

Happily, the condition of “death” suggested by the symbolism of captivity in the tree is only temporary. In ancient year-rites in Egypt, the eventual splitting of the tree “both terminates life and liberates it,” allowing the captive initiate to be reborn.⁵⁷⁶ The splitting of the tree also is said by Nibley to represent, “among other things, the ‘splitting of ‘good’ and ‘evil,’” or the law of opposites.”⁵⁷⁷



Figure 8-3. Zakariya, Hidden in a Tree, Sawed in Two by His Enemies, 1577



Figure 8-4. Isaiah Sawed in Two at the End, Roda Bible, mid-11th century

Such images of death and resurrection recall al-Tha'labi's version of the story of the martyrdom of Isaiah: "When their prophet Isaiah finished his speech, they came after him to kill him and he fled from them. A tree met him and split itself open for him and he entered it. The Devil came upon him and seized a fringe of his garment and showed it to them, so they took saws in its middle and sawed it until they cut it and cut him while he was in the midst."⁵⁷⁸ Isaiah's death in the

split tree was immediately followed by his rebirth and ascension to heaven.⁵⁷⁹ Another Islamic version of this story associates the incident with Zacharias, father of John the Baptist, rather than with Isaiah.⁵⁸⁰ Similar stories about Isaiah are found in Christian sources. See, for example, the illustrations from the *Roda Bible* shown above. At right, he meets death by being sawed in half while enclosed within a tree or vine, and, at left, we see a previous ascent to heaven.⁵⁸¹

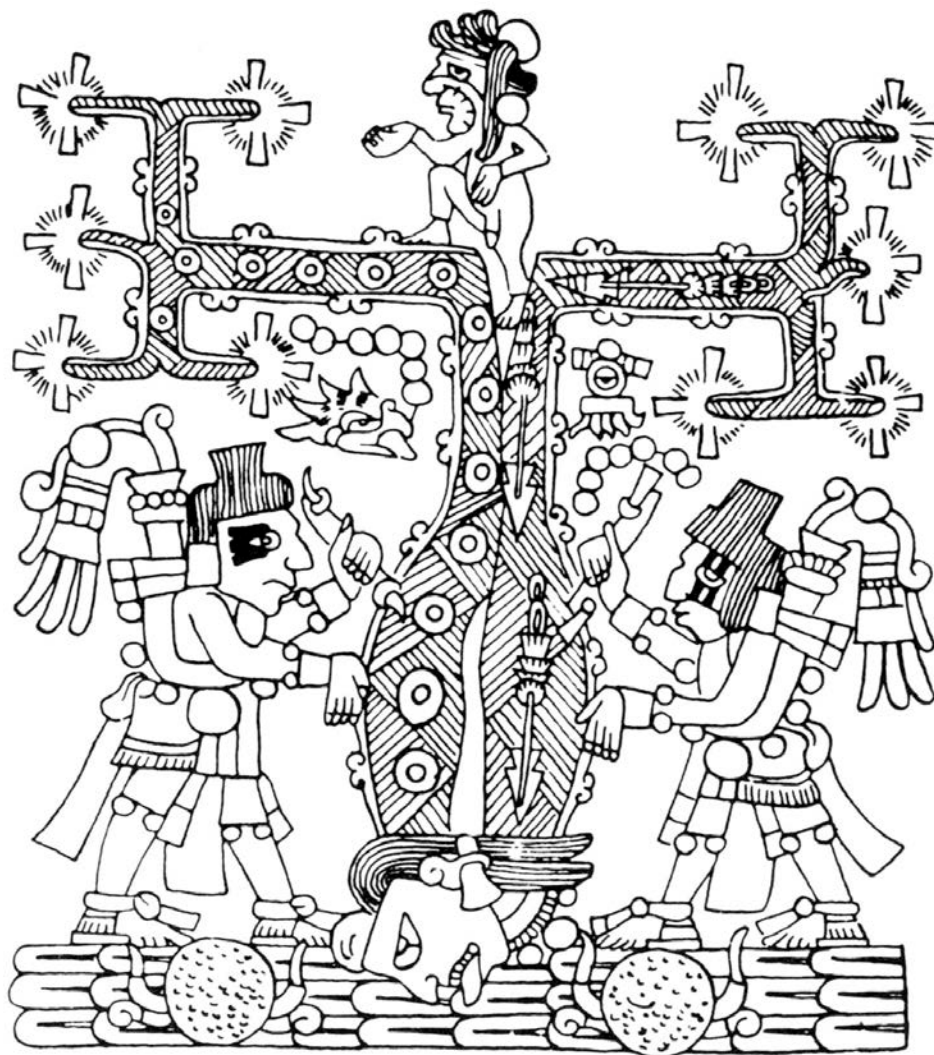


Figure 8-5. *Man Emerging from a Split Tree Trunk*, 16th century

Intriguingly, a similar motif appears in the New World. For instance, Garth Norman notes that the “‘broken tree trunk’ symbol” is connected with the explanation of the origin of some tribes, including the Mixtecas.⁵⁸² This idea can

be seen in a “Tamoanchan pictograph or hieroglyph depicting a man emerging from a split tree trunk in symbolic birth.” The “tree of the Mixtec codices is a Tree of Life or World Tree extending above and below this earth, but principally a ‘tree of the heavens’ in Omeyocan guarded by the creator couple where it gives birth to humanity. It can be stated simply that in ancient Mexico the broken tree represents a birth, death, or migratory transition for man.”⁵⁸³

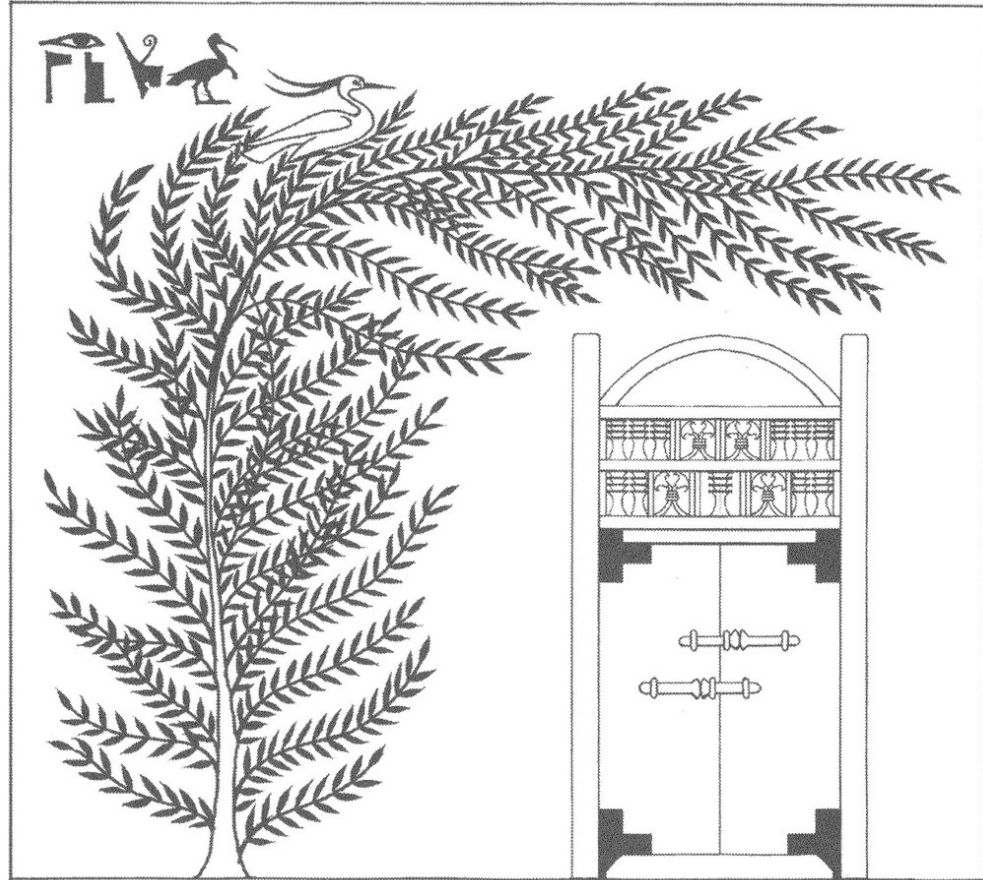


Figure 8-6. Michael P. Lyon, 1952-: Sacred Tree over Grave, ca. 200 BCE

All these stories might be taken as suggesting that Adam and Eve’s passage through mortal life provided an opportunity for eventual rebirth and return to God’s presence in conjunction with the same tree that originally brought them death. Here we see a depiction of the Egyptian sacred tree growing over the Tomb of Horsiese, significantly harboring the *benu*-bird or phoenix, symbol of resurrection.⁵⁸⁴



Figure 8-7. Palm Tree Growing over “Adam’s Grave” at Machpelah, Hebron

Lest one conclude that such symbolism is exclusively Egyptian, note that a palm tree stands above “Adam’s grave” at Machpelah.⁵⁸⁵



Figure 8-8. The Holy Women at the Tomb and the Ascension, ca. 400

Here, in a fifth-century ivory, a sacred tree with two birds is shown next to a structure representing the burial place of Christ.⁵⁸⁶ A sacred tree is similarly depicted in the decoration of a twelfth-century altar as standing near Jesus' tomb.⁵⁸⁷



Figure 8-9. Anubis Leads Nakht Toward Entrance to Other World, ca. 1350 BCE

In a speculative mood, we might see the theme of rebirth and resurrection in the portion of the Egyptian funerary papyrus of Nakht shown in above.⁵⁸⁸ The scene depicts the beginning steps of a testing process that determines whether or not the soul of the deceased is worthy of a glorious resurrection, and recalls the biblical and Egyptian motif of the waters by which one is either drowned or saved.⁵⁸⁹ Here, the guide Anubis, the “guardian of the gateway,”⁵⁹⁰ is shown “leading the deceased into the presence of Osiris where he will assist in the ceremony of the weighing of the heart”⁵⁹¹ in afterlife judgment. They approach a tree that stands before the “false door,” representing the entrance to the “Other World.” To reach that door, they must in fact pass by that tree, a symbol that is frequently associated, like the door itself, with the “horizon,” the meeting place between heaven and earth.



Figure 8-10. Left to Right: Reconstructed Dura Europos Torah Shrine with Curtain; Dura Europos Mural Depicting Jerusalem Temple; Temple Mosaic from Khirbet Samara

At left is the reconstructed Torah shrine from the mid-third-century Dura Europos synagogue with a surrounding curtain. Next we see same symbolism surrounding the depiction of a door of the Jerusalem temple, from one of the Dura murals. Finally, note the same imagery in a mosaic from a near contemporary synagogue of Khirbet Samara in ancient Samaria (Sebaste).⁵⁹² The two-part Hebrew temple imagery of the veil and the door shown in these three figures might be seen as a parallel to the two-part imagery of the tree and the door shown in the previous Egyptian example. The possibility that Solomon's temple had both a door and a veil is raised by the fact that there are two differing descriptions of the entry found in the Bible: 1 Kings 6:31-32 "states that olivewood doors, carved with cherubim, palm trees, and flowers, overlaid with gold, separated the... chambers" while 2 Chronicles 3:14 "describes this same entryway as having been covered by a 'veil... of blue, purple, and crimson fabrics, and fine linen, and worked cherubim on it.'"⁵⁹³ Connecting the imagery of the tree with that of the veil is the al-Khalesi's conclusion that the sanctuary at Mari would have been shielded from the public view by a veil made of "ornamented woven material"⁵⁹⁴ supported by two wooden posts representing the sacred tree.⁵⁹⁵ Note that the veil in the mosaic from Khirbet Samara shown above is also suspended from two posts.⁵⁹⁶

It is significant that, in each of the three images shown here, a scallop shell was placed immediately above the temple veil. This shell has been used as a symbol of the resurrection since Greco-Roman times. The scallop shell reappears in the Salt

Lake Temple in a prominent decoration located immediately above the veil in the celestial room.⁵⁹⁷



Figure 8-11. Detail from the Torah Shrine of the Dura Europos Synagogue

As a final example of how themes of death and rebirth were associated anciently with the symbolism of the tree and the veil, consider this close-up of the decorations found immediately above the Dura *Torah* niche.⁵⁹⁸ The entire panel is rich with symbols of resurrection and eternal life: the menorah (left), a representation of the Temple in Jerusalem (center), and the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham (right). In front of the altar on which Isaac is lying, a ram caught in a tree is shown, recalling the imagery of death in the figure of Osiris shut up in the *ished* tree. In the background is what appears, at first glance, to be someone in a tent. Although the figure in the background is often identified as Sarah,⁵⁹⁹ it is difficult to see why she would have been included in this scene. Moreover, were this figure a female, one would have expected a head covering and colored clothing, as with all other Jewish women shown in the Dura murals.⁶⁰⁰

In trying to make sense of this scene, we might remember that in some Jewish and early Christian accounts of Abraham's sacrifice, one finds the idea that Isaac actually died, ascended to heaven, and was resurrected. Consistent with this theme, Margaret Barker⁶⁰¹ interprets the scene as showing "a figure going up

behind a curtain held open by a disembodied hand—the symbol of the LORD [shown immediately to the left of the curtain]. Since the temple curtain represented access to the presence of God, this seems to depict Isaac going to heaven.”⁶⁰² Whether meant literally or figuratively, the themes of “death” in the tree and “resurrection” in passing through the veil seem very much at home together in this panel.

Parallels to the Story of the Fall



Figure 8-12. Tobias Verhaecht, 1561-1631: The Tower of Babel

The unusual reading of the Fall I have described finds echoes elsewhere in scripture and tradition. In particular, Ronald Hendel makes the case that “the Primeval Cycle [Genesis 1-11] is characterized by a series of mythological transgressions of boundaries” that had been set up to separate mankind from the dwelling place of Divinity.⁶⁰³ For instance, the “same stress on a borderline between the divine and human spheres is found in... [the] passage on the Tower of Babel [which] presents ‘the tower whose top assaults the sky—a perfect and natural metaphor for the human assault on the divinely ordained cosmos.’”⁶⁰⁴ A similar assault in an opposite direction is evident in the story of the Watchers, “sons of God” who were sent to earth with a divine mission to save mankind, but

instead defiantly sinned by uniting themselves with the “daughters of men” and revealing heavenly secrets.⁶⁰⁵



Figure 8-13. James Tissot, 1836-1902: *Noah's Sacrifice*, ca. 1896-1902

Another significant parallel is the story of Noah's family after the Flood, which has often been compared to the account of Adam and Eve in the first chapters of Genesis.⁶⁰⁶ Significantly, the story also culminates with an unauthorized transgression of sacred boundaries.

Immediately after their debarkation, God established his covenant with Noah, outlining dietary instructions and giving the commandment to “multiply and replenish” the renewed earth, in similitude of what He originally told Adam and Eve.⁶⁰⁷ The ever-obedient Noah also imitated the example of the first parents by offering sacrifice⁶⁰⁸ and beginning at once to till the earth.⁶⁰⁹ Then comes the scene of a “Fall” and consequent judgment.⁶¹⁰

Often, the instigator of this “Fall” is wrongfully seen to be Noah who, it is reported, succumbed to the intoxicating influence of wine from his vineyard and retreated to the privacy of his tent.⁶¹¹ Note, however, that the scriptures omit any hint of wrongdoing by Noah, and instead reserve all condemnation for his son Ham and his grandson Canaan.⁶¹² And what was their sin? If we have understood the situation in Eden correctly, it is a perfect parallel to the transgression of Adam and Eve. Without proper invitation, Ham approached the curtains of the “tent of

Yahweh”⁶¹³ without authorization and looked upon the glory of God as Noah was “uncovered within”—literally, “in the midst of”⁶¹⁴—the tent while in the course of revelation.⁶¹⁵



Figure 8-14. Rembrandt, 1606-1669: King Uzziah Stricken with Leprosy, 1635

Likewise, Ephrem compares the transgression of Adam to the story of King Uzziah, who, though not a priest, entered the sanctuary to burn incense and as a result was smitten with leprosy.⁶¹⁶ Ephrem writes that when “Adam snatched the fruit, casting aside the commandment... he beheld that Glory within, shining forth with its rays... Adam made bold to touch and was smitten like Uzziah: the king became leprous, Adam was stripped... both kings fled and hid in the shame of their bodies... [The trees] all blushed at Adam, who was suddenly found naked.”⁶¹⁷ Note that, in contrast to the practice of priests in some Near East cultures, the Israelite code specified that it was improper for a man to appear naked before God; indeed the law described in great detail the particular dress that was suitable for the act of worship.⁶¹⁸



Figure 8-15. Left: John Everett Millais, 1829-1896: *Esther*, 1865. Right: Minerva Teichert, 1888-1976: *Queen Esther*, 1939

For those who take the Tree of Life to be a representation within the Holy of Holies, it is natural to see the tree itself as the locus of God's throne:⁶¹⁹

[T]he Garden, at the center of which stands the throne of glory, is the royal audience room, which only those admitted to the sovereign's presence can enter.⁶²⁰

In this connection, recall the book of Esther, which recounts the law of the Persians that "whosoever... shall come unto the king into the inner court, who is not called, [shall be] put... to death."⁶²¹ At left we see Esther, just prior to her entering, unbidden, into the presence of the King.

Fortunately, Esther is received by the king, leading to a series of events that brought about a happy ending to the story. Significantly, Berlin reminds us that it is because Esther is properly dressed in her royal apparel as a "true queen"—as opposed to her appearance earlier in the account as a "beauty queen"⁶²²—that she is, against all odds, granted safe admission to the presence of the king.⁶²³

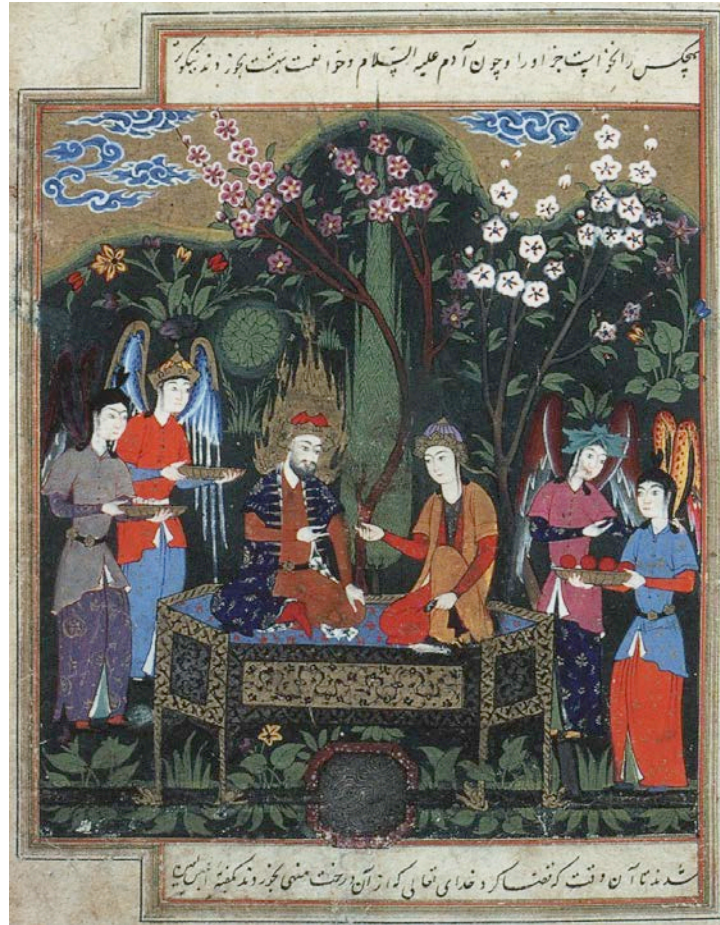


Figure 8-16. Adam and Eve Enthroned in Paradise, 16th century

Paralleling this idea of the Tree of Life as a throne surrounded by a curtain of privacy is an Islamic legend that maintains that Adam and Eve reigned, as God's vice-regents, from a throne in Eden within "a green silken tent... whereupon the curtains of the tent closed around them of their own accord."⁶²⁴ Significantly, the location of this tent parallels the central position of the Tree of Knowledge, immediately adjacent to the Tuba tree of Paradise.⁶²⁵ Although the idea of a second co-located tree is only infrequently mentioned in Islamic tradition, note that the tent is specifically described as being the vegetal color of green and that the function of the curtains in the written description was, of course, to screen the throne—and the Tuba tree—from public sight, just as the Tree of Knowledge veiled the view of the Tree of Life in Ephrem's depiction of Eden. Following the transgression of Adam and Eve, the "throne which had been erected for them in the tent thrust them away and cried, 'Rebels, depart!'" God's judgment then came upon them through "a voice from the tree"⁶²⁶—meaning the Tuba "tree of life."

Sounding a similar theme, a petitioner in the Islamic mystical text, *The Mother of Books*, is warned by God that if someone were to move “the curtain and the veil the slightest bit [to] make the high king visible [i.e., to see God’s presence within the place of His full glory]... their spirit would leave their body.”⁶²⁷ The protection that the veil affords those unprepared to look within is perhaps the reason that the Mandeans call it “the veil of safety.”⁶²⁸ By way of contrast, the Armenian *Descendants of Adam* says that the righteous Enoch refrained from looking at the heavens—which is equated to the fact that he did not eat of the:

... tree of meat [= tree of knowledge]... And he drew linen over his face, and did not look at the heavens, on account of the sin of Adam... And God had mercy upon Enoch and transferred him to immortality.⁶²⁹

Note that in the Book of Mormon, a similar warning is given regarding the interpreters used by seers to enhance their prophetic vision: “no man can look in them except he be commanded, lest he should look for that he ought not and he should perish.”⁶³⁰

Nibley concludes that “dire consequences” may result from transgression of divinely set bounds, citing the case of “Pistis Sophia[, who] went beyond her ‘degree’ and, becoming ambitious, ‘looked behind the veil’ [and] fell from glory.”⁶³¹

Conclusions

The central position of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden provides a parallel to the presence of God in the midst of His temple. Diane Aposhian-Moffat’s elegant knotted rug appropriately shows the round tree against the middle of a rectangular field. The Tree of Knowledge may plausibly be taken as a symbol of the protective veil initially concealing the Tree of Life from Adam and Eve. After their transgression of God’s “first commandments,”⁶³² God placed cherubim and a flaming sword to prevent their premature entry into His presence, and sent Adam and Eve away “eastward.”

For Ephrem, the crucifixion of Christ both “fulfills and abolishes” the terms of the Old Covenant,⁶³³ dismantling the barrier of enmity⁶³⁴ that had separated mankind from God since the Fall.⁶³⁵

Very sad was the Tree of Life
 that saw Adam hidden from him.
 Into the virgin earth he sank and was buried,
 but he arose and shone forth from Golgotha.



Figure 8-17. Diane Aposhian-Moffat, 1958-: Lehi's Vision of Tree of Life, 2002

Again, Ephrem writes:⁶³⁶

In His love there came to us the blessed Tree [i.e., the cross of Christ]:
the one wood undid the work of the other,
the one fruit was annulled by the other,
that which brought death by that which is alive.

Sebastian Brock comments: "As the source of immortality, 'the Tree of Life is the symbol of the Son of the Living One,'⁶³⁷ whose Eucharistic fruit is plucked daily in the Church."⁶³⁸ In another verse, Ephrem expresses gratitude that the sweet fruit forbidden to Adam is available again to the Saints, and that the sword that prevented man's return to the Garden of Eden was "removed by the lance" that pierced Jesus' side as He hung on the cross:⁶³⁹

With the blade of the sword of the cherub
was the path to the Tree of Life shut off,
but to the Peoples has the Lord of that Tree
given Himself as food.
Whereas Eden's other trees were provided
for that former Adam to eat,
for us the very Planter of the Garden
has become the food for our souls.
Whereas we had left that Garden
along with Adam, as he left it behind,
now that the sword has been removed by the lance,
we may return there.

9. A Curse for the Serpent and Blessings for Adam and Eve



Figure 9-1. Domenichino, 1581-1641: *The Rebuke of Adam and Eve*, 1626

JEWISH pseudepigraphal texts tell of how, after Adam and Eve's transgression, God's "chariot throne [descends and] rests at the Tree of Life and all the flowers come into bloom."⁶⁴⁰ Of this painting, Conisbee writes:

The Rebuke of Adam and Eve perfectly illustrates Domenichino's classical style at the peak of his career... The group of God and the angels is derived directly from Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam*... and should be read as an homage by the seventeenth-century painter to his great predecessor... Following Italian tradition, Domenichino shows the Tree of Knowledge as a fig tree, rather than the apple tree which was more usual in northern European art. In a clear narrative sequence, God the Father, borne by cherubim and angels, descends to rebuke Adam, who blames Eve, who in turn points to the serpent as the cause of their fall from grace. Animals still roam freely in their earthly paradise, but the lion at the right is already metamorphosing from a friendly feline to an aggressive beast.⁶⁴¹

The change in God's initial question from the KJV "Where *art* thou?" to the JST "Where *goest* thou?" emphasizes the fact that the Lord is not assessing Adam's

location but rather requesting him to reflect openly on his intentions—in view of the fact that his feet are now pointed toward the exit of the Garden.⁶⁴² Dennis Rasmussen observes: “From man God does not need information. Man’s response must be man’s own self.”⁶⁴³ Umberto Cassuto⁶⁴⁴ further explains:

The commentators who consider the question to be aimed at discovering where the man was hiding have overlooked the words “[and said unto] him”... The query... resembles the question the Lord God asks Cain,⁶⁴⁵ “Where is Abel your brother?” when Abel’s body is lying on the ground beneath the open sky, and no attempt is made to conceal it... We may compare the case to that of a man who comes to chide his little son who misbehaved himself and then hid himself behind the door in order to avoid looking at his father’s angry face; the father who is well aware of the child’s hiding-place, calls out to him, “Where are you?” meaning: Why are you there? Is that where you should be? Come out and face me! [Adam’s] answer is in keeping with this interpretation; he does not reply, “I am in such-and-such a place,” but he explains why he is concealing himself.⁶⁴⁶

God’s call, of course, is not issued as an angry threat, but rather as an invitation for Adam to account for his stewardship of the Garden.⁶⁴⁷ To accomplish His objective, God seeks to “draw rather than drive him out of hiding.”⁶⁴⁸ Elder David A. Bednar observed that God did not merely lecture Adam, but instead made every effort to help him learn and wisely exercise his agency.⁶⁴⁹ According to Chrysostom, God here “demonstrate[s] his own loving kindness, and... invites [Adam and Eve] to make admission of their faults.”⁶⁵⁰

It is supposed that the reason Satan is not interrogated here is because, in contrast to mankind, he “was not and never will be afforded any chance at repentance.”⁶⁵¹ While he is the only one to be directly cursed,⁶⁵² there is a similarity in the nature of the consequences suffered by each of the three parties: “In each case, the judgment is of a twofold nature: it affects what is of central concern in the life of each entity, and it regulates a basic relationship.”⁶⁵³ As for the serpent, it is henceforth restricted to a humiliating diet and form of locomotion, and will be crushed under the heel of the seed of the woman; the woman will suffer in childbearing and in the challenges of a marriage relationship undertaken in the conditions of a fallen world; and the man is consigned to hard labor and to strict obedience to the commandments of the Lord.

In the case of the man and the woman, Cassuto argues that what may seem solely as punishments should be regarded instead as “measures taken for the good of the human species in its new situation.”⁶⁵⁴ Exposed in nakedness, God will clothe them;⁶⁵⁵ subject to temporal and spiritual death, God will bless them with

posterity and the eventual possibility of eternal life;⁶⁵⁶ and bereft of the food of the Garden, God will provide Adam and Eve with the seeds of life-sustaining grains.⁶⁵⁷

This chapter will outline some of the important themes in the curse of the serpent and the consequences of the Fall spelled out to Eve. In a later chapter, the words of God to Adam will be discussed.

The Curse of the Serpent

The cursing of the serpent is described in Moses 4:20-21:

And I, the Lord God, said unto the serpent: Because thou hast done this thou shalt be cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life;

And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed; and he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.

The *Qur'an* records a passionate exchange of words following Lucifer's expulsion from heaven that could just as easily fit the scene described here. In the account, Satan unleashes a tirade of threats, followed by a summary dismissal by God: "Because... [Thou hast adjudged me to be erring], [the Devil] declared, 'I will waylay Your servants as they walk on Your straight path, then spring upon them from the front and the rear, from their right and from their left....' 'Begone!' [God] said."⁶⁵⁸ Hugh Nibley⁶⁵⁹ elaborates:

[Satan,] nettled by this rebuke and the curse, ...flares up in his pride and announces what his program for the economic and political order of the new world is going to be. He will take the resources of the earth, and with precious metals as a medium of exchange he will buy up military and naval might,⁶⁶⁰ or rather those who control it, and so will govern the earth—for he is the prince of this world. He does rule: he is king. Here at the outset is the clearest possible statement of a military-industrial complex ruling the earth with violence and ruin. But as we are told, this cannot lead to anything but war, because it has been programmed to do that. It was conceived in the mind of Satan in his determination "to destroy the world."⁶⁶¹ The whole purpose of the program is to produce blood and horror on this earth.

Historically, Christians have called the prophecy concerning the "seed" of the woman in Moses 4:21 the *protoevangelium*, being the first explicit Biblical allusion to the good news of the Gospel.⁶⁶² The depiction of the "Harrowing of Hell" from the *Barberini Codex* shows the Devil being literally trampled underfoot by the advancing Christ as he reaches out to save the dead who have long awaited the

appearance of their Redeemer. The imagery is meant to teach that the Redeemer has crushed the head of the serpent by means of the very heel that was bruised in the pains of the Atonement.⁶⁶³

Just as Jesus Christ will put all enemies beneath his feet,⁶⁶⁴ so the Prophet Joseph Smith taught that each person who would be saved must also, with His help, gain the power needed to “triumph over all [their] enemies and put them under [their] feet,”⁶⁶⁵ possessing the “glory, authority, majesty, power and dominion which Jehovah possesses.”⁶⁶⁶

Of relevance to the requirement that each Christian follow the same path taken by Jesus Christ is Theodore of Antioch’s account of the “drama of baptism,” enacted as part of the liturgy of the fourth-century church. Note the rich symbolism that links the banishment of Satan to the covenant of baptism. Anderson summarizes:

When Satan hears of the pending enrollment of the *catechumen*,⁶⁶⁷ he shows the same hostility he had formerly shown towards the exaltation of Adam and the resurrection of Christ... [Theodore writes that Satan] “...tries and endeavors to bring us to the judgment hall as if we had no right to be outside his ownership. He pleads that from ancient times and from the creation of the head of our race we belong to him by right...” Having pledged to resist Satan, the candidates were urged to “stand with outstretched arms in the posture of one who prays, and look downwards and remain in that state in order to move the judge to mercy.”⁶⁶⁸

As part of this process, candidates sometimes “stood [barefoot] on animal skins while they prayed, symbolizing the taking off of the garments of skin they had inherited from Adam”⁶⁶⁹ as well as figuratively enacting the putting off the serpent, the representative of death and sin, under one’s heel.⁶⁷⁰ Thus the serpent, his head crushed by the heel of the penitent relying on the mercies of Christ’s atonement, is by a single act renounced, defeated, and banished.⁶⁷¹

The Challenges and Blessings of Celestial Marriage

Moses 4:22 records God’s words to Eve:

I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception. In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.

In the poignant sculpture by Delaplanche pictured here, the vacant, tearless eyes and agonized posture of the solitary slumped figure bespeak the depth of Eve’s utter hopelessness immediately after her transgression. While scripture describes

the results of transgression differently for Adam than for Eve, the ultimate effect of these consequences is essentially the same: a mortal life replete with the opposing experiences of good and evil, pleasure and pain.⁶⁷²



Figure 9-2. Eugène Delaplanche, 1836-1890: *Eve, After Transgression*, 1869

Adam and Eve's common lot is reflected in the carefully chosen Hebrew words used to represent their suffering. As Cassuto observes:

Apparently we have here a play upon words with reference to *es* [= tree]: it was with respect to *es* that the man and woman sinned, and it was with *esebb* [= pain] and *issabbon* [= toil, suffering] that they were punished... The very fact that Scripture does not employ here the usual phrases found in connection with the suffering of childbirth... proves that it was some specific intention... that these words were selected."⁶⁷³

The same Hebrew term used to describe Adam and Eve's sorrow recurs when Noah is "pained that the Lord had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at the heart."⁶⁷⁴

Without the Fall, Adam and Eve would have not borne children.⁶⁷⁵ Now Eve is told that as part of the repeated blessings of motherhood she must also undergo the recurrent pain incident to each childbirth. However, using the words of the apostle Paul, Sailhamer reminds us that these birth pangs:

... are not merely a reminder of the... Fall; they are as well a sign of impending joy: "We know that the whole creation has been groaning as in the pains of childbirth right up to the present time. Not only so, but we ourselves, who have the firstfruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait eagerly for our adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies. For in this hope we were saved."⁶⁷⁶

By this we understand that not only the crushing of the serpent's head, but also the blessings of spiritual rebirth for all mankind will come through the "seed of the woman," namely Jesus Christ.

The phrase "thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee"⁶⁷⁷ has been the subject of much misunderstanding. The problem begins when the references to the woman's "desire" and the man's "rule" are read *prescriptively* as a biblical marriage model to be followed, rather than *descriptively* as a tragic condition to be reversed. Though pride and selfishness will threaten the desired state of oneness between husband and wife, the commandment for them to "cleave" to one another is never abrogated.

To better understand the concepts being expressed in this verse, it is important to recognize that the Hebrew term translated as "desire" does not denote physical attraction, but rather a wish to "overcome or defeat another."⁶⁷⁸ This sense is captured in a Christian phrasing of Adam's punishment: "your family will be forever contending against you."⁶⁷⁹ Hamilton sees here a desire of sin "to break the relationship of equality and turn it into a relationship of servitude and domination... Far from being a reign of co-equals over the remainder of God's creation, the relationship now becomes a fierce dispute, with each party trying to rule the other. The two who once reigned as one attempt to rule each other."⁶⁸⁰ Summarizing the unfortunate new state of affairs described in this verse, McKinlay observed that "the Fall of man and the continual source of degeneration in this world have resulted in the estrangement of parents from God, from each other, and from their children." On the other hand, "the healing of this broken harmony is the essence of eternal life."⁶⁸¹

Martin Luther aptly describes God's design of marriage as a "school of love."⁶⁸² As couples and families learn to live together in intimacy, affection, and oneness, they experience the finest kind of preparation for eternal life that mortality can provide.⁶⁸³ President Spencer W. Kimball emphasized that in celestial marriage

the “man and the wife are equals” and that the designation of “authority” to man “does not mean that he is superior.”⁶⁸⁴ He explained that the role of the husband is to “preside” rather than to “rule”⁶⁸⁵ and stressed the need for women to be “contributing and full” partners in marriage.⁶⁸⁶ Elder Dallin H. Oaks further explained that there is a difference between presiding in Church organizations and in the home. As summarized by Elder Bruce C. Hafen:⁶⁸⁷

[Elder Oaks] quoted the “equal partners” principle from the Family Proclamation and then said this concept does *not* apply to a ward organization. The Relief Society president and her ward bishop, for example, are not equal partners in administering the affairs of the ward; however, that same Relief Society president *is* an equal partner with her husband in administering the affairs of their home...

Elder Oaks also compared Adam and Eve’s relationship to each other with their relationship to the Lord. He said that “the word “obey” is used in describing our covenants with the Lord and [the word] “counsel” is used in expressing [a married couple’s] relationship with one another”....

The point is a simple one: Marriage is a partnership of equals whose most essential roles both revolve around their families.

Hugh Nibley⁶⁸⁸ points out:

There is no patriarchy or matriarchy in the Garden; the two supervise each other. Adam is given no arbitrary power; Eve is to heed him only insofar as he obeys their Father—and who decides that? She must keep check on him as much as he does on her. It is, if you will, a system of checks and balances in which each party is as distinct and independent in its sphere as are the departments of government under the Constitution—and just as dependent on each other.

Catherine Thomas observes, a primary objective of mortality seems to have been precisely “to foster the conditions in which the man and the woman may achieve interdependence,” thus affording us an opportunity to rise to “the challenge of not only perfecting ourselves individually but also perfecting ourselves in relationships.... Relationships were given to us to develop us in love.”⁶⁸⁹

The notion of the “interdependence” of husband and wife is perhaps best expressed through the scriptural concept of “cleaving”: “Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife; and they shall be one flesh.”⁶⁹⁰ The underlying meaning of the idea of two distinct entities becoming attached to one another while preserving their separate identities

becomes clear, “if it is noted that the verb *d-v-k* [cleave, cling] is often used to describe human yearning for and devotion to God.”⁶⁹¹ Likewise “forsake” is often used in a biblical context to describe Israel’s departure from her covenant with the Lord.⁶⁹² Noting that Adam and Eve “symbolically represent all men and women,” Jolene Edmunds Rockwood observes:⁶⁹³

Male and female were created from one flesh; as separate individuals who are now companions to one another, they strive to again become as one in their relationship. Note that it is the man who leaves his parents and cleaves unto his wife.⁶⁹⁴ In view of the patriarchal society in which this passage was written, one would instead expect to hear the reverse: a woman leaves her parents and cleaves unto her husband. Three important insights are, then, encapsulated in this summary statement: the woman is an independent and equal creation, marriage does not make her the possession of the man, and achieving oneness should be the common goal of both.

Like the blessing of childbirth, the experience of married love holds out a promise of happiness, yet its practice, in a fallen world, will be frequently mixed with sorrow “till God make men of some other mettle than earth.”⁶⁹⁵ Unfortunately, “[t]here has been no change in the constitution of man since he fell.”⁶⁹⁶ “Sad experience” has shown “that it is the nature and disposition of almost all men, as soon as they get a little authority, as they suppose, [to] immediately exercise unrighteous dominion,”⁶⁹⁷ a tendency which modern prophets have repeatedly condemned.⁶⁹⁸ Of the great blessings that await all generations of women who have thus suffered, Elder James E. Talmage has written:

When the frailties and imperfections of mortality are left behind, in the glorified state of the blessed hereafter, husband and wife will administer in their respective stations, seeing and understanding alike, and cooperating to the full in the government of their family kingdom. Then shall woman be recompensed in rich measure for all the injustice that womanhood has endured in mortality. Then shall woman reign by Divine right, a queen in the resplendent realm of her glorified state, even as exalted man shall stand, priest and king unto the Most High God.⁶⁹⁹

Conclusions

Through partaking of the forbidden fruit, Adam and Eve have begun to know good and evil—in that respect becoming “as gods.”⁷⁰⁰ While the serpent had painted a picture of a jealous God, the Lord’s actions after the Fall bear out His intent to further bless the couple. Now that the couple has made their free choice of mortality as the way forward, God will enable them to gain further experience by sending them out of the Garden under conditions that He had expressly

designed to meet that purpose.⁷⁰¹ He will provide a Savior for them, and will make the Gospel with its covenants and ordinances available so that, through their faithfulness, they might be sanctified and return to His presence.⁷⁰² The healing of the broken harmony between man and woman is an essential prerequisite for their eventual joint exaltation.

10. Was Eve Beguiled?

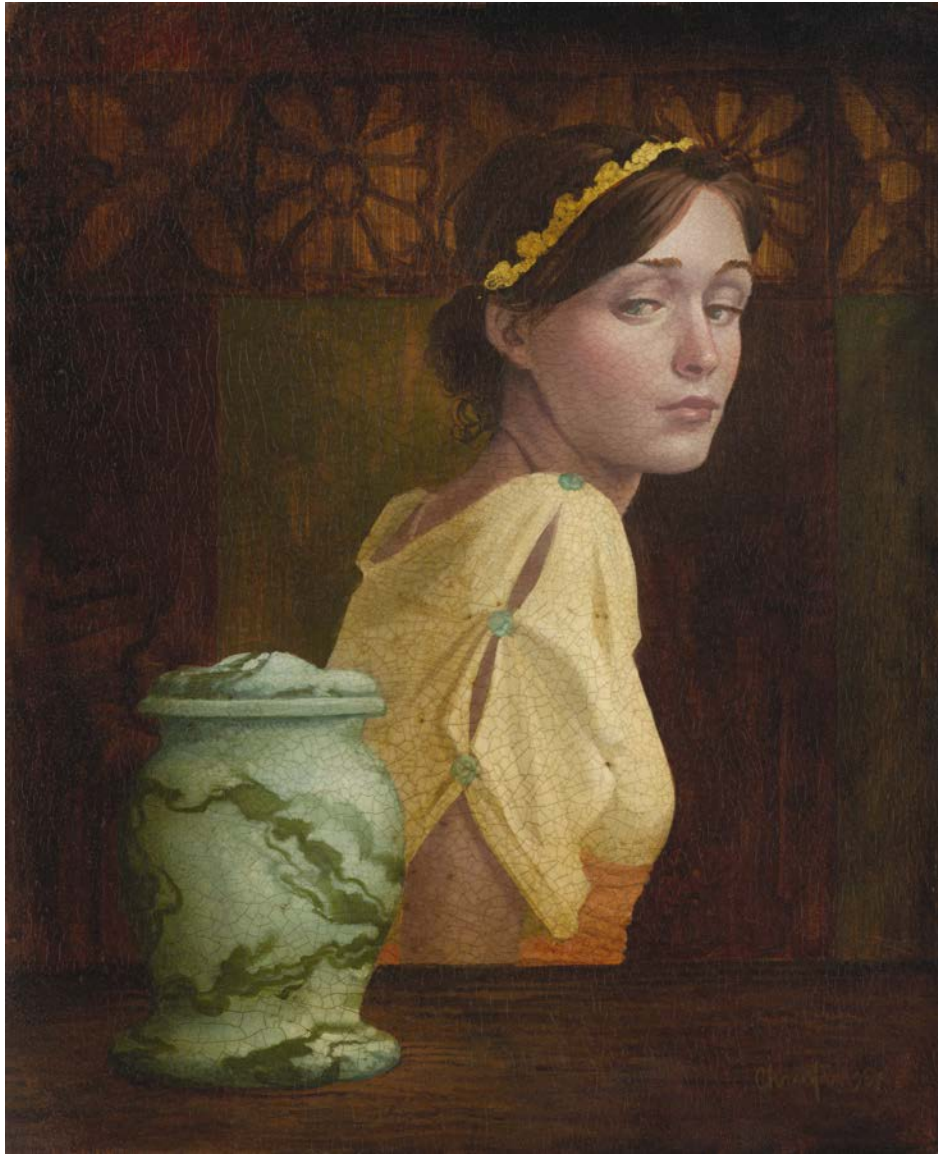


Figure 10-1. James C. Christensen, 1942-: Pandora 2, 2005

WHETHER earnestly promoted as Christian theology or merely mentioned in tasteless jest, Eve is too often painted in the colors of Pandora,⁷⁰³ a mythological figure whose unbridled curiosity unleashed a long train of potent ills against mankind. This is *not* the view of the Latter-day Saints.

In light of the LDS understanding that the Fall was a necessary prerequisite for mankind's further progression and our rejection of the generally negative portrayals of Eve in historical Christianity, Mormon authors typically emphasize her perceptiveness and interpret her role as ultimately constructive. A few have, however, taken this view to what I take to be an untenable extreme, not only rightfully exonerating her from full accountability for her transgression and honoring her lifelong faithfulness, but in addition arguing that, for various reasons, she was not actually "beguiled" by Satan in her decision to take of the forbidden fruit.⁷⁰⁴

Such a view goes well beyond the settled LDS doctrines that the Fall was an essential part of the divine plan from the beginning and that Adam and Eve did not commit a sinful or otherwise blameworthy act. Though it is easy to see how such views might arise from honest misunderstanding, a careful analysis will show that they should be no more a part of the beliefs of well-informed Latter-day Saints than the opposite notion that Eve was a prototype of Pandora.

My differences in perspective with the well-intentioned LDS authors who make such arguments are, of course, far outweighed by our common beliefs and sympathies. In presenting what I see as necessary correctives to certain aspects of these views, I intend no personal offense. In hopes of eliminating any misrepresentation, I sent drafts of this chapter to two of the authors referenced, Alonzo Gaskill and James T. Summerhays, who confirmed my interpretation of their views and graciously responded with some welcome suggestions.

After a review of the "standard" view of the Fall, I will examine two of the questions raised by the writings of Gaskill and Summerhays: "Was Satan entirely truthful?" and "Was Eve actually beguiled?" We will then return to the story of the Fall, showing how Eve wisely took the initiative to counteract Satan's efforts to rupture her unity with Adam. In conclusion, I will show why the story of the Fall cannot be fully appreciated when presented as a laundry list of isolated symbols, but instead must be understood as a harmonious whole.

The Standard View of the Fall

Before examining the contention that Eve was not beguiled in her encounter with Satan, it seems important to outline a brief summary of the "standard" view of the Fall, meaning the one that I have most commonly encountered in LDS Church settings over the years:

1. We do not believe that the Fall was a surprise to God, since it was foreseen and planned for from the beginning.⁷⁰⁵

2. We do not believe that the Fall was something to be regretted, since it constituted the appointed means by which mortality, an essential step in mankind's progression, would be afforded to Adam and Eve and their posterity.⁷⁰⁶
3. We do not blame Adam and Eve, but rather are grateful for their roles in the Fall. Eve was deceived by Satan, and thus did not act with full understanding. Adam, in light of Eve's honest and logical explanation, and knowing that it was essential that he and Eve not be separated, wisely chose to partake of the fruit.⁷⁰⁷ The only blameworthy party in the story is the serpent.
4. Because Adam and Eve did no wrong, we label their actions as "transgressions" rather than "sins."⁷⁰⁸ What is important, of course, is not the dictionary definitions of these two words—which are, after all, quite similar in meaning—but rather the effort in LDS scripture and prophetic teachings to preserve a careful conceptual distinction between what happened in the Garden of Eden and the kind of trouble you and I get ourselves into when we yield to temptation.⁷⁰⁹

Elder James E. Talmage has written what might be taken as the closest thing we currently have to an "official" statement about the specifics of the Fall. As part of a manuscript that was "read... and approved by the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve" and "published by the Church,"⁷¹⁰ his *Jesus the Christ* affirmed that Adam and Eve were "pure" and "noble." Noting that, of course, "when we pass through the veil we shall perhaps learn something of their high estate, more than we know now,"⁷¹¹ Elder Talmage wrote:

The woman was deceived, and in direct violation of the counsel and commandment partook of the food that had been forbidden... Note in this matter the words of Paul the apostle: "Adam was not deceived but the woman being deceived was in the transgression"⁷¹²... The arch-tempter through whose sophistries, half-truths and infamous falsehoods, Eve had been beguiled, was none other than Satan.⁷¹³

Elder Talmage's book *The Articles of Faith*,—the lectures on which it was based having been "prepared in accordance with the request and appointment of the First Presidency" and subsequently "published by the Church,"⁷¹⁴—further elaborates. Following a description of how "Satan... sought to beguile the woman," we read:

The woman was captivated by these representations; and, being eager to possess the advantages pictured by Satan, she disobeyed the command of the

Lord, and partook of the fruit forbidden. She feared no evil, for she knew it not.⁷¹⁵

Later, Elder Talmage summarizes:

Eve was fulfilling the foreseen purposes of God by the part she took in the great drama of the Fall; yet she did not partake of the forbidden fruit with that object in view, but with intent to act contrary to the divine command, being deceived by the sophistries of Satan, who also, for that matter, furthered the purposes of the Creator by tempting Eve; yet his design was to thwart the Lord's plan... Adam's part in the great event was essentially different from that of his wife; he was not deceived; on the contrary he deliberately decided to do as Eve desired, that he might carry out the purposes of his Maker.⁷¹⁶

I am persuaded that Elder Talmage states the situation accurately. Although he recognized that Satan beguiled Eve, he in no way implies that Eve chose evil—because “she knew it not.” He rightfully portrays Adam and Eve as “pure” and “noble,” having played their parts perfectly in accordance with the Father’s original plan.

Was Satan Entirely Truthful?

According to the “standard” view described above, Satan mixed truth with falsehood in his assertions to Eve. On the one hand, Satan is seen to have told a part-truth in his assertion that Adam and Eve’s eyes would “be opened, and [they would] be as gods, knowing good and evil”⁷¹⁷; on the other hand, his claim that they would “not surely die”⁷¹⁸ as the result of eating is taken to be deception pure and simple.

In a thoughtful book entitled *The Savior and the Serpent*, Alonzo Gaskill questions this picture of Satan’s deceptiveness,⁷¹⁹ arguing that he was “actually quite accurate”⁷²⁰ in his statement about *both* matters.

To fully appreciate Gaskill’s perspective, it must be understood that he takes the unusual position of interpreting the entire story of the Fall as being only about you and I, the “metaphorical” Adam and Eve, and not at all about our first parents, the “historical” Adam and Eve. Thus, according to Gaskill, any attempt to use the biblical text or modern temple teachings to prove that the “historical” Eve was deceived—or to assert anything else about our first parents—is futile, as he sees the account as applying only to ourselves and not to them.⁷²¹

To make my own position on this question clear, I do, of course, agree that we have much to learn about our own lives in studying the scriptural accounts of the Fall, especially given that each of us have, in a sense, “sinned after the similitude

of Adam's transgression."⁷²² However, it is one thing to say that everything our first parents did in the story of the Fall applies in some way to us, and quite another to say that nothing in that admittedly highly figurative scriptural account applies exclusively to them. Neither in scripture, nor in the writings of Church authorities, do I find an advocate for the idea that the "historical" Adam and Eve are completely absent from the Genesis and book of Moses accounts. Moreover, with respect to temple teachings, Elder Talmage confirmed in a summary of the endowment published by the Church⁷²³ that "our first parents,"⁷²⁴ the "historical" Adam and Eve, are the subjects of the figurative story told within the experience of that temple ordinance.

Whether one takes the subjects of the story of the Fall as told in the book of Moses as figuratively portraying the "historical" or the "metaphorical" Adam and Eve, Gaskill's arguments contending for Satan's supposed full veracity bear directly on the primary question raised by this chapter: "Was Eve beguiled?" Gaskill makes two appeals for his conclusion that Satan was truthful not only about the opening of Adam and Eve's eyes, but also in his response to God's statement that in eating the fruit they would "surely die":

1. *Appeal to the underlying Hebrew text:* In Moses 4:10, Satan tells Eve: "ye shall not surely die." However, taking a cue from the literal word-by-word rendering of the Hebrew given in a footnote of the LDS edition of the Bible ("Dying, ye shall not die"), Gaskill asserts that the English of the KJV and the book of Moses are misleading. He argues "from the Hebrew" that Satan's meaning was that in "physically dying you will not die (i.e., permanently die)."⁷²⁵ In other words, Satan is taken to be truthfully saying that if Eve ate, the consequence of death she would eventually suffer would only be of temporary duration. However, I can find no justification in the Hebrew text itself for the meaning that is being applied to the phrase, since in Hebrew the repetition of the verb in such grammatical constructions ("dying," "die") is always understood as intensifying the negation (i.e., changing the meaning "you will *not* die" to something like "you will *absolutely not* die"). So far as I have been able to determine, the interpretation of this phrase has never been a matter of controversy among biblical scholars. Since the plain meaning of the emphatic Hebrew text, traditionally rendered "ye shall not surely die," is well understood by scholars,⁷²⁶ an argument based on the Hebrew text that Satan is being truthful in this statement fails.
2. *Appeal to authority:* In a second form of argument, Gaskill quotes from a discourse of Brigham Young where he says that Satan "told the truth" to Eve. However, the original context of the statement makes it clear that

President Young was only referring to the Devil's accurate claim that her eyes would be opened, not to his false averral that she could eat and live with impunity.⁷²⁷ Elsewhere, in fact, President Young is remembered as having explicitly said that Satan told Eve "many truths and some lies."⁷²⁸ Gaskill similarly quotes Hyrum Andrus out of context to support the argument.⁷²⁹ However, Andrus never makes the claim that Satan is *fully* truthful in his words to Eve. In fact, he has elsewhere taken the opposite point of view.⁷³⁰

Neither the arguments based on the Hebrew text, nor the appeal to authority make a compelling case for the idea that Satan was entirely truthful in his statements to Eve. By way of contrast, the Book of Mormon more than once prefaces a mention of Adam and Eve's transgression by the statement that the Devil is "the father of all lies"⁷³¹—implying that the two concepts are closely linked. Perhaps the most telling of these passages is 2 Nephi 2:18. Here the word "wherefore" seems to function as an explicit logical connective between the clause that describes who Satan is and the one that tells what he said: "the devil, who is the father of all lies, *wherefore he said*: Partake of the forbidden fruit, and ye shall not die, but shall be as God, knowing good and evil."

Was Eve Actually Beguiled?

In a separate effort to refute the idea that Eve was beguiled, James T. Summerhays⁷³² summarizes the research of Vivian McConkie Adams—and, indirectly, that of Beverly Campbell—who has presented similar views.⁷³³

While not seeking to directly contradict the statement of scripture that Satan "*sought... to beguile Eve*,"⁷³⁴ the question raised by these authors is whether the Adversary actually *succeeded* in deceiving her.⁷³⁵ Summerhays claims that, in view of the "original Hebrew meaning and restoration scripture," it is plain that, in Eve's statement that she was beguiled, she "is not saying she was tricked." Below I summarize and respond to the four reasons given for this mistaken conclusion:

1. *Summerhays*: "Hebrew scholar Nehama Aschkenasy points out that the original Hebrew word that was translated as beguiled is a rare verb that has rich and connotative meanings. 'Beguile' suggests Eve underwent a deep internal process; she weighed, pondered, and reflected upon the ramifications of partaking of the fruit before she did so."⁷³⁶ The King James translators, themselves inheritors of the original sin cultural bias, used the word almost exclusively to mean deceived. They did not capture the original richness of the word."

Response: Aschkenasy's discussion of the Hebrew term behind the English word "beguiled" is useful insofar as it highlights the seeming complexity of the "inner conviction" that "led [Eve] to the act of disobedience."⁷³⁷ The multifaceted nature of her experience is likewise witnessed by the text of Moses 4:12 itself.⁷³⁸ However, the idea that deception is a primary component of the meaning of "beguiled"⁷³⁹ is not merely an outmoded concept attributable to the lack of sophistication of the King James translators, but rather a feature that has been retained by virtually every modern Bible translation.

2. *Summerhays:* "A second witness to the original meaning of 'beguile' is given by the prophet Lehi, who makes commentary on the Adam and Eve story from a record much earlier than anything the King James translators had to work with—namely, the brass plates. Lehi explains that Eve was enticed by the tree of knowledge of good and evil that stood in opposition to the tree of life.⁷⁴⁰ In other words, she wanted it; she chose it over the other."

Response: This argument fails to make the point—it is just as easy to be enticed by evil as by good. We cannot take the fact that Eve chose to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge as proof that she was not, at least in part, deceived by Satan in the reasons for her choice. Note also that, although the word "entice" is sometimes used in the Book of Mormon to describe Satan's general role as a tempter,⁷⁴¹ the word "beguile," with only one exception, is preferred to "entice" in specific Book of Mormon descriptions of his temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden. Highlighting the dimension of deception are scriptural references that directly link Satan's role as the "the father of all lies" to his efforts to "beguile" Adam and Eve.⁷⁴²

3. *Summerhays:* "And it was a good tree, not inherently evil in any way. Notice all the positive terms in Genesis 3:6—'And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat.' Eve saw, the record says, not merely wondered or believed or hoped that the tree was good."

Response: In contrast to this view, Sarna sees an "undertone of irony in the formulation that she 'saw that it was good,' for it echoes God's recurring judgment about His creation in Genesis 1. Now, however, good has become debased in the woman's mind. Its definition is no longer God's verdict but is rooted in the appeal to the senses and in utilitarian value."⁷⁴³

Note also that there is nothing said about Eve having weighed such valid considerations as the importance of the experience of mortality and the joy of having children, as one might have expected had she been fully aware of God's purposes in her eating of the fruit. Significantly, while the KJV says that the fruit "was pleasant," the JST says "it *became* pleasant." It seems that the more Eve looked, the more attractive the fruit appeared.⁷⁴⁴ True, we are not told explicitly whether her perception was becoming clearer or cloudier, but the meaning of the passage in context seems plain. As Elder Talmage taught, Eve "was captivated by"⁷⁴⁵ the "sophistries, half-truths and infamous falsehoods"⁷⁴⁶ of Satan and, "being eager to possess the advantages pictured by [him], she disobeyed the command of the Lord."⁷⁴⁷

4. *Summerhays*: "A scholar on the story of Eve, Vivian McConkie Adams, explains [in a personal communication] that 'the word *saw* in this verse comes from the Hebrew word *ra'ah*, which has direct relation and root to the Hebrew word *ro'eh*, which means seer or vision.' Such word play, which is common in Hebrew, suggests that Eve had a prophetic spirit and may have received seeric revelation from God as part of her tutoring in the garden."

Response: To make this argument is to suggest, by way of analogy, that because "see" and "seer" are related in English, a statement about "seeing" can be taken as indicative of divine vision—this is clearly not the case! It is true, as Summerhays points out in the case of "beguile," that the semantic range of an underlying Hebrew term may at times exceed that of its equivalent in English translation. However, if the story had meant to imply that Eve had seen something in vision, a better Hebrew root, one that is used exclusively in the Old Testament for "seer" and "seeing in vision," was available. Besides, a principal point of the story is to contrast Eve's limited view of things before the Fall to the greater discernment she manifested afterward.⁷⁴⁸ Of course, to discount the claim that Eve received "seeric revelation" as she regarded the forbidden fruit is not to say that Eve may not have had some degree of prior insight into the positive consequences of her choice.⁷⁴⁹ Nor is it to assert that her understanding was not relatively complete *after* she had eaten.⁷⁵⁰ However, to argue that she was divinely inspired on the basis of the Hebrew of Genesis 3:6 is not persuasive.

The explicit declaration of scripture is that "Satan... sought to beguile Eve."⁷⁵¹ The Hebrew text describing her temptation is unambiguous. The actions of Adam and Eve in making the fig leaf aprons and hiding in the tree witness their doubtful

state of mind following the transgression. Why not accept Eve's own straightforward explanation of what happened? In the admirable candor and simplicity of her confession, she both admitted the deception and rightfully laid blame on the very one—the only one—who deserved it: “The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.”⁷⁵²



Figure 10-2. Brian Kershisnik, 1962-: Holy Woman, 2001

Eve Restores the Broken Harmony

We return to the story of Adam and Eve. Hugh Nibley observes that the “perfect and beautiful union of Adam and Eve [had] excited the envy and jealousy of the Evil One, who made it his prime objective to break it up.”⁷⁵³ Jolene Edmunds Rockwood’s summary makes clear the extent to which the Adversary initially succeeded.⁷⁵⁴

Until the woman and the man actually partake of the fruit, ...the language of the text indicates a union in their actions.... [However, after their transgression,] the unity of the man and woman becomes sudden separateness. They use the first person singular for the first time in the narrative as the Lord confronts them: “*I* heard thy voice in the garden, and *I* was afraid, because *I* beheld that *I* was naked; and *I* hid *myself*”⁷⁵⁵ explains Adam, speaking only for himself. The man’s comments are even more interesting when we realize that *both* the man and the woman heard God’s voice, *both* were afraid, and *both* of them hid. Though performing the same actions, their unity is ruptured. The woman also uses the first person singular to answer the Lord’s question: “The serpent beguiled *me*, and *I* did eat.”⁷⁵⁶

In view of the ruptured unity with Adam, and having been empowered by newly acquired insight, Eve had already wisely, heroically, and compassionately taken the initiative to approach her companion. Though Eve had been the one deceived, Nibley observes that she also became the first to understand what must be done to prevent a separation from Adam and to secure the future of their family.⁷⁵⁷

After Eve had eaten the fruit and Satan had won his round, the two were now drastically separated, for they were of different natures. But Eve, who in ancient lore is the one who outwits the serpent and trips him up with his own smartness, defeated this trick by a clever argument. First, she asked Adam if he intended to keep all of God’s commandments. Of course he did! All of them? Naturally! And what, pray, was the first and foremost of those commandments? Was it not to multiply and replenish the earth, the universal commandment given to all God’s creatures? And how could they keep that commandment if they were separated? It had undeniable priority over the commandment not to eat the fruit. So Adam could only admit that she was right and go along: “I see that it must be so,” he said, but it was she who made him see it. This is much more than a smart way of winning her point, however. It is the clear declaration that man and woman were put on the earth to stay together and have a family—that is their first obligation and must supersede everything else.

The Symbolism of the Fall in Context

Rockwood gives a beautiful summary of the three episodes of the Fall. At the same time, she demonstrates why the story cannot be fully appreciated when presented as a laundry list of isolated symbols. Instead, the account must be understood as a harmonious whole.⁷⁵⁸

In the first episode, unity and perfection characterize all of the orders of creation. In the second episode, all orders of creation participate in their own fall,⁷⁵⁹ which brings separateness and conflict in episode three. Yet the author introduces the story with a statement that celebrates the fall from immortality to mortality and ends it in the same way.

The symmetry of the story is, in fact, one of contrasts. In episode one there is unity and perfection but there is no joy, for they know neither good nor evil. They have no knowledge. Their very innocence leaves them defenseless. In episode two, they gain knowledge, realize they are naked, and attempt to conceal their guilt from God. Their very guilt, however, means they have gained knowledge, the knowledge of good and evil. With [correct] knowledge they can cover their “nakedness,” thus acquiring a defense against evil. The experience is compounded of both bitter and sweet. Episode three presents a final contrast. Because they are mortal, they will now experience pain and hardship. They will be separated from Deity. Yet, paradoxically, they will only now be able to know joy. They are sent away from the Garden, but it is for their own good, for they are imperfect and could no longer live in the presence of perfection. Nor could they gain experience in an environment where their needs are automatically supplied. The Lord provides them with clothing (shields of knowledge) to cover their nakedness (defenselessness). They can now defend themselves against evil. His final response is thus an act of compassion, not punishment.

Reading the entire account as a poetical unit thus resolves many of the individual elements; they are symbols, symmetrically paired to reveal the layers of contrast in the story as a whole.

Conclusions

Latter-day Saints should rightfully honor Eve while also recognizing Satan as the cunning Tempter that he is. Though she was once deceived, Eve’s innate perceptiveness, augmented by her experience, is recognized by a diversity of traditions that associate her with Wisdom itself (*Sophia*).

While briefly successful, Satan’s strategy to destroy the couple’s happiness was no match for the greatness of God’s wisdom and love. Eve’s forthright and intelligent

10. WAS EVE BEGUILED?

initiative was a decisive blow to the Adversary. Later, in witness of their recaptured oneness, Adam and Eve unitedly expressed their understanding of the blessed effects of the Fall in a dual psalm of gratitude:

10 And in that day Adam blessed God and was filled, and began to prophesy concerning all the families of the earth, saying: Blessed be the name of God, for because of my transgression my eyes are opened, and in this life I shall have joy, and again in the flesh I shall see God.

11 And Eve, his wife, heard all these things and was glad, saying: Were it not for our transgression we never should have had seed, and never should have known good and evil, and the joy of our redemption, and the eternal life which God giveth unto all the obedient.⁷⁶⁰

11. The Nakedness and the Clothing of Adam and Eve



Figure 11-1. *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, 1646

WESTERN art typically portrays Adam and Eve as naked in the Garden of Eden, and dressed in “coats of skin” after the Fall. However, the Eastern Orthodox tradition depicts the sequence of their change of clothing in reverse manner. How can that be? The Eastern Church remembers the accounts that portray Adam as a King and Priest in Eden, so naturally he is shown there in his regal robes.⁷⁶¹ Moreover, Orthodox readers interpret the “skins” that the couple wore after their expulsion from the Garden as being their own now-fully human flesh. Anderson interprets this symbolism to mean that “Adam has exchanged an angelic constitution for a mortal one”⁷⁶²—in other words, they have lost their terrestrial glory and are now in a telestial state.

The top panel of the figure above shows God seated in the heavenly council surrounded by angels and the four beasts of the book of Revelation. The second panel depicts, from left to right: Adam and Eve clothed in heavenly robes following their creation; then stripped of their glorious garments and “clothed” only in mortal skin after eating the forbidden fruit; and finally both clad in fig leaf aprons as Eve converses with God. The third panel shows Adam conversing with God, the couple’s expulsion from the walled Garden through a door showing images of cherubim, and their subsequent hardship in the fallen world. Orthodox tradition generally leaves Adam and Eve in their aprons after the Fall and expulsion, seeing them as already having received their “coats of skin” at the time they were clothed in mortal flesh.

Gradients of Holiness and Changes of Clothing

Recalling the parallels between the layout of the Garden of Eden and Israelite Houses of God, Anderson points out that “the vestments of the priest matched exactly those particular areas of the Temple to which he had access... Each time the high priest moved from one gradient of holiness to another, he had to remove one set of clothes and put on another to mark the change”.⁷⁶³

(a) Outside the Tabernacle priests wear ordinary clothes. (b) When on duty in the Tabernacle, they wear four pieces of clothing whose material and quality of workmanship match that of the fabrics found on the outer walls of the courtyard.⁷⁶⁴ (c) The High Priest wears those four pieces plus four additional ones—these added garments match the fabric of the Holy Chamber where he must go daily to tend the incense altar.

In Eden a similar set of vestments is found, again each set suited to its particular space. (a) Adam and Eve were, at creation, vested like priests and granted access to most of Eden. (b) Had they been found worthy, an even more glorious set of garments would have been theirs (and according to St. Ephrem, they would have entered even holier ground). (c) But having [transgressed], they were stripped of their angelic garments and put on mortal flesh. Thus, when their feet met ordinary earth—the realm of the animals—their constitution had become “fleshly,” or mortal.⁷⁶⁵

According to Brock, the imagery of clothing in the story of Adam and Eve is “a means of linking together in a dynamic fashion the whole of salvation history; it is a means of indicating the interrelatedness between every stage in this continuing working out of divine Providence.” This imagery also makes clear the place of each individual Christian’s priesthood ordinances “within the divine economy as a whole.”⁷⁶⁶ We describe the sequence of changes in more detail below.

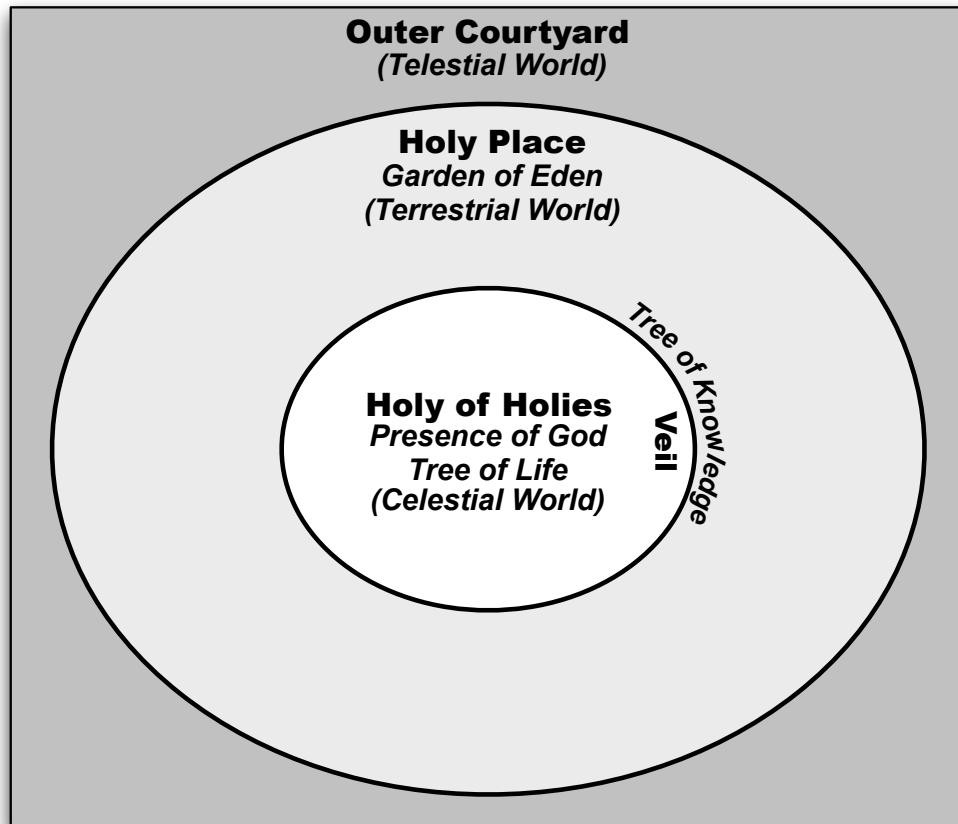


Figure 11-2. Zones of Sacredness in Eden and in the Temple

From Glory to Nakedness (Moses 3:25)

Though figuratively “naked,” because their knowledge of their premortal state had been taken away by a “veil of forgetfulness,”⁷⁶⁷ Adam and Eve had come to Eden nonetheless “trailing clouds of glory.”⁷⁶⁸ While the couple, as yet, were free from transgression, they could stand “naked” in God’s presence without shame,⁷⁶⁹ being “clothed with purity”⁷⁷⁰ in what early commentators called “garments of light”⁷⁷¹ or “garments of contentment.”⁷⁷² In one source, Eve describes her appearance by saying: “I was decked out like a bride, and I reclined in a wedding-chamber of light.”⁷⁷³

In the context of temple teachings based on the experiences of Adam and Eve, Hugh Nibley explains:

The garment [of light] represents the preexistent glory of the candidate... When he leaves on his earthly mission, it is laid up for him in heaven to await his return. It thus serves as security and lends urgency and weight to the need

for following righteous ways on earth. For if one fails here, one loses not only one's glorious future in the eternities to come, but also the whole accumulation of past deeds and accomplishments in the long ages of preexistence.⁷⁷⁴

From Innocence to Transgression (Moses 4:16)

Rabbinical tradition taught that, following his transgression, "Adam... lost his [heavenly] clothing—God stripped it off him,"⁷⁷⁵ and similarly that Eve "was stripped of the righteousness in which [she] had been clothed."⁷⁷⁶ In the *Life of Adam and Eve*, Adam is made to say that God then "sent seventy plagues upon us, to our eyes, and to our ears and as far as our feet."⁷⁷⁷ As we have seen, this can be taken to mean that "Adam has exchanged an angelic constitution for a mortal one," in other words that he has been "clothed with flesh."⁷⁷⁸ Shamed by their loss of glory, Adam and Eve covered their earthly bodies with fig leaf aprons.

Rabbinical writings describe how, in likeness of Adam and Eve, each soul descending to earth "divests itself of its heavenly garment, and is clothed in a garment of flesh and blood,"⁷⁷⁹ the prior glory being, as it were, "veiled... in flesh."⁷⁸⁰ The various "afflictions" of mortality initially given to Adam and now bestowed upon "all... generations"⁷⁸¹ "are against the 'seven natures: the flesh for hearing, the eyes for seeing, the breath to smell, the veins to touch, the blood for taste, and bones for endurance, and the intelligence for joy';⁷⁸² or against life, sight, hearing, smell, speech, taste, procreation."⁷⁸³ Though Adam and Eve had been protected from fatal harm, ancient texts recount that Satan had been allowed to hurt them, and the "wounds," foreshadowing the wounds later received by Christ at His crucifixion,⁷⁸⁴ "remained on their bodies."⁷⁸⁵

Nibley sees the wounds of nature and of Satan to various parts of the body as symbols figuratively corresponding to the "blows of death" taught by Satan to Cain.⁷⁸⁶ He describes their enactment in Jewish ritual as follows:

The wages of sin is death, and the dead body is chided at an old-fashioned Jewish funeral because its members no longer function, and each one is struck an impatient and accusing blow. This is the *chibut ha-keber*: "On the third day the departed is treated with increased rigor. Blows are struck on his eyes because he would not see, on his ears because he would not hear, on his lips because they uttered profanities, on his tongue because it bore false testimony against his neighbor, on his feet because they ran toward evil doing."⁷⁸⁷

From Transgression to Blamelessness (Moses 4:27, 6:50-53)

Adam was powerless except through death to rid himself of the mortal flesh he had now put on. However, while still in this life, he was enabled to “[put] off the natural man and [become] a saint through the atonement of Christ” so that he could be found “blameless in the sight of God.”⁷⁸⁸ When Adam asked why “men must repent and be baptized,” the Lord replied: “Behold I have forgiven thee thy transgression in the Garden of Eden.”⁷⁸⁹



Figure 11-3. God Dressing Adam and Eve, 13th century

Above is a mosaic from the San Marco cupola in Venice showing God not merely providing coats of animal skins, but actually dressing Adam and Eve. The coats of skins were a visible sign of God’s forgiveness, constituting a tangible witness of the couple’s acceptance of the atonement that would reverse the “blows of death” and cover the shame of spiritual nakedness they experienced following their transgression. The “second skin” provided by the Lord figuratively replaced their covering of mortal skin with the flesh of Jesus Christ, the “second Adam,”⁷⁹⁰ through whose power they would experience a “renewing of their bodies.”⁷⁹¹ Indeed, the Hebrew term for “atonement” exactly fits this situation, meaning “to cover or recover, cover again, to repair a hole, cure a sickness, mend a rift, make good a torn or broken covering.”⁷⁹²

Though the leather garment given to Adam and handed down through the patriarchs was foremost a sign of repentance,⁷⁹³ it was also a sign of authority,⁷⁹⁴ and a symbol of “royal rebirth and rejuvenation.”⁷⁹⁵ It provided protection, afforded modesty, reminded Adam and Eve of their covenants, and served as an earnest of the glorious celestial robes that awaited them through their faithfulness.⁷⁹⁶

The “putting off of the natural man” so as to be made a “new creature” in Christ⁷⁹⁷ is figuratively enacted in the rites of some Christian traditions relating to the renunciation of Satan and the acceptance of Christ through baptism. In these rites, the candidate “is stripped of the garments inherited from Adam and vested with the token of those garments he or she shall enjoy at the resurrection.”⁷⁹⁸ The function of the skin garment was subsumed by the linen coat and breeches worn next to the skin by priests in the Tabernacle precincts at the time of Moses,⁷⁹⁹ purportedly in order “to avoid the shedding of animal blood.”⁸⁰⁰ Moreover, as Matthew B. Brown observes,⁸⁰¹ “The fine linen worn by heavenly beings is described as ‘clean and white’ or ‘pure and white’ and is therefore an appropriate symbol of worthiness or righteousness.”⁸⁰² Since linen is not the product of an animal that is subject unto death,⁸⁰³ or ‘corruption’ as it is called, it is also a fitting symbol of immortality, which is also called ‘incorruption.’”⁸⁰⁴

From Blamelessness to Celestial Glory (Moses 4:27)

While the coats of skins “covered” the direct effects of Adam and Eve’s transgression (corresponding to the idea of *justification*), additional clothing worn over the first garment represented their being endowed with glory, holiness, and godliness (i.e., *sanctification*).⁸⁰⁵ In connection with the doctrines and ordinances of the gospel that promise “eternal life... unto all the obedient,”⁸⁰⁶ Adam and Eve would, in the resurrection, be “clothed with honour and majesty... [and] covered... with light as with a garment,”⁸⁰⁷ in perfect similitude of God’s own glory.⁸⁰⁸

Rabbinical writings recount: “When the time comes for the soul to leave this world, the Angel of Death strips off the worldly garment, and at the same instant the soul is clothed in the holy garment that was stripped away when it descended to this world. Then the soul delights in having been stripped of its worldly body and in having its original garment restored.”⁸⁰⁹ Similarly, Nephi describes the worthy dead as “being clothed with purity, yea, even with the robe of righteousness.”⁸¹⁰ *1 Enoch* says that the “righteous and the chosen will have arisen from the earth... and have put on the garment of glory... the garment of life from the Lord of Spirits; and your garment will not wear out, and your glory will not

fade in the presence of the Lord of Spirits.”⁸¹¹ “For these are those selected by God for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong the glory of Adam.”⁸¹²

In ancient Israel, the temple clothing of priests symbolized the heavenly clothing that would be given them in the next life.⁸¹³ Nibley explains that “the white undergarment is the proper preexistent glory of the wearer, while the [outer garment of the high priest] is the priesthood later added to it.”⁸¹⁴ Anderson describes God’s concerted attempt at Sinai to figuratively reverse the effects of the Fall of mankind and then to cover him with glory:

... by ordaining that Israel wash and then put on new clothes. “When you have already been washed and purified through the Law of God,” Origen declared, “then Moses will dress you with a garment of incorruptibility so that ‘your shame may never appear’⁸¹⁵ and ‘this mortality may be absorbed by life.’”⁸¹⁶ And what was done to Israel in this general way was done to the priesthood in a much more dramatic way. Priests’ clothing anticipated the resurrection body that all would receive at the end of time.⁸¹⁷

Eve Receives a Fitting and Proper Name (Moses 4:26)

Just before God clothed the first couple with “coats of skin,” Eve was given a proper and fitting name, replacing the generic name of “woman” (*ishah*) she had received previously.⁸¹⁸ Jolene Edmunds Rockwood explains how the second naming differed from the first:⁸¹⁹

[In the first instance of naming,] man is actually making a pun on the origin of woman. As the human (*ha-‘adam*) received his existence from the earth (*ha-‘adamah*), now the man (*ish*) has been used to form the woman (*ishah*). We see this difference even more clearly when we look more closely at the episode where *ha-‘adam* names the animals. He uses a Hebrew naming formula: the verb “to call” (*gara*) followed by the word “name” (*shem*) or “calling the name.” Cain “builded a city, and *called* the *name* of the city, after the name of his son”; and “Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and *called* his *name* Seth.”⁸²⁰ It is interesting that the man does not employ this formula for the woman until after the Fall when he “*calls her name* Eve”....

As before Adam made a covenant with her, now he gives her a title of great honor: “Life, the mother of all living.” This is not a mere naming. It signifies that a great event has taken place, and a title commensurate with the event is bestowed upon the woman. It is also similar to the Near Eastern formula for titles given to goddesses.

Recall also that Old Testament figures such as Abram (Abraham) and Jacob (Israel) received a new name from God Himself at significant junctures in their lives.⁸²¹ Later sources tie the same motif to the life of Moses. For example, in a text “drawing almost exclusively upon Philo’s *De Vita Mosis*” (but also “drawing upon other sources”), Clement of Alexandria gave a description of a group of “Initiates” who had an account of the three names given to Moses: “Joachim, given him by his mother at circumcision; Moses, given him by Pharaoh’s daughter; and Melchi, a name he had in heaven which was given him, apparently by God, after his ascension”⁸²²—and suggesting the “eternal priesthood of Melchizedek.”⁸²³ In this sense, Melchizedek (*Melchi-zedek* = king of righteousness⁸²⁴) might be regarded as much a title as a name.⁸²⁵

Just as the naming episode in Moses 3:19-20 was considered by Islamic commentators to be a test of Adam’s knowledge of certain names as a measure of worthiness for his exalted role, so also was the story of the naming of Eve seen in precisely the same way. Notice the words al-Tha’labi uses to describe the incident:

When Adam awoke from his sleep he saw [Eve] sitting at his head. The angels said to Adam, testing his knowledge: “What is this, Adam?” He answered: “A woman.” They asked: “And what is her name?” he replied: “Eve (*hawwa*).”⁸²⁶

Conclusions

The imagery of clothing beautifully conveys the correspondence between the stages of personal progression and the accrual of glory in increasing likeness to God. This clothing with glory is not an event that transpires in an instant, but rather occurs through a process of gradual growth, “grace for grace.”⁸²⁷

William Blake depicts the exit scene at the gates of Eden as a tender moment of forgiveness and farewell. In childlike submission and gratitude, Adam and Eve bow their heads and prepare to leave God’s embrace and prove themselves by overcoming the dangers of the mortal world.

In his *Hymns on Paradise*, Ephrem the Syrian summarizes the blessings that come to the posterity of Adam and Eve through their faithfulness:

Among the saints none is naked,
for they have put on glory,
nor is any clad in those leaves,
or standing in shame,
for they have found, through our Lord,
the robe that belonged to Adam and Eve.⁸²⁸



Figure 11-4. William Blake, 1757-1827: *The Clothing of Adam and Eve*, 1803

11. THE NAKEDNESS AND THE CLOTHING OF ADAM AND EVE

12. “Stand Ye in Holy Places, and Be Not Moved”



Figure 12-1. Thomas Cole, 1801-1848: *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, 1828

East of Eden

IN his characteristic epic style, Thomas Cole depicted Adam and Eve being driven from the lush garden to live in the relative wilderness of the mortal world. The exit of the Garden—and presumably the only means of access—is on the east side, at the end farthest away from the mountain of God’s presence. The image of the tiny couple is almost lost in the wide expanse of the landscape, emphasizing the greatness of the power of God and the grandeur of His Creation as compared with the forced humility of fallen mankind. The light emanating from the Garden contrasts with the darkness of the way ahead for Adam and Eve.

The fall of the king of Tyre, in the lamentation of Ezekiel 28, is frequently interpreted as having been typed on Adam.⁸²⁹ The king is described as a “seal of perfection,”⁸³⁰ in essence Yahweh’s signet ring, faithfully bearing in every detail “the likeness of Yahweh” and the righteous exercise of “divine authority in the world.”⁸³¹ The use of this term may also witness his perfection in the keeping of the covenant to which he is bound to his sovereign Lord.⁸³² Previously, the king had dwelled “upon the holy mountain of God,”⁸³³ walking “up and down in the midst of stones of fire.”⁸³⁴ Verse 13 explicitly identifies this mountain as Eden.⁸³⁵ “Eden, as a luxuriant cosmic mountain becomes an archetype or symbol for the

earthly temple,”⁸³⁶ a place from which the protagonist is to be “cast ... out”⁸³⁷ because of the “multitude of [his] iniquities.”⁸³⁸ Significantly, God says that he is not only to be cast out, but also that he is to be “cast ... to the ground.”⁸³⁹ The Hebrew term *eres* (ground) has a double sense: “[o]n the one hand, it evokes an iconoclastic picture of an idol being hurled down and lying in ruins on the ground (*eres*)”⁸⁴⁰ rather than standing in the holy place of the sanctuary. On the other hand, it evokes the imagery of Adam being thrown out of Eden to live on the earth (*eres*).⁸⁴¹

Adam and Eve’s expulsion is described twice in Moses’ account, with different terms used in each case.⁸⁴² The Hebrew word *shillah* (“send him forth”) in verse 23 is followed by the harsher term *geresh* (“drove out”), used in Genesis 3:24. Significantly, the same two terms are used in the same order by the Lord to describe how Pharaoh would drive Israel away from their familiar comforts in Egypt⁸⁴³—their erstwhile “Eden”—suggesting that we are not meant to read Adam and Eve’s exit from Eden as depicting a unique event but rather, in the case of their expulsion from Eden, as demonstrating a repeated type of mankind’s difficulty, in its fallen state, to “stand in holy places” and not be “moved.”⁸⁴⁴

Though the scriptural admonition to “stand in holy places and be not moved”⁸⁴⁵ is a familiar one, the relevance of its symbolism to the story of Adam and Eve has been underappreciated. In this chapter, we will explore how one’s fitness to stand in holy places was understood in ancient sources, showing the paramount importance of this idea in the Old and New Testament—and its particular relevance for our own time. Indeed, Avivah Zornberg has argued that to “hold [one’s] ground” in sacred circumstances is the meaning of being itself—“*kiyyum*: to rise up (*la-koom*), to be tall (*koma zokufa*) in the presence of God.”⁸⁴⁶

Adam and Eve’s Standing in Eden

According to Jewish tradition, the dust used to create Adam was taken from two places: 1. From the four corners of the earth (so that wherever he died, he would be accepted for burial), and 2. From the “sacred center,” the place of Adam’s altar and the location of the temple:

“God took his dust from the place of which it is said, ‘You shall make an altar of earth for Me—I wish that he may gain atonement, and that *he may be able to stand*.’”⁸⁴⁷

In contrast to cattle, which “do not stand to be judged”⁸⁴⁸ (i.e., are not held accountable for their actions⁸⁴⁹), a midrashic account of Adam’s creation specifically highlights his first experience after being filled with the breath of life:⁸⁵⁰ namely, the moment when God “stood him on his legs.”⁸⁵¹ According to

Zornberg,⁸⁵² it is in the ability to stand in the presence of God that one specifically demonstrates the attainment of full “majesty and strength,” a divine quality Adam will lose through his subsequent transgression:

Before the sin, Adam could “hear God speaking and *stand on his legs*... he could *withstand* it.”⁸⁵³ After the sin, he hides; the midrash imagines Adam and Eve as shrinking⁸⁵⁴ essentially pretending not to be. In another midrash, God says, “Woe Adam! Could you not *stand in your commandment* for even one hour? Look at your children who can wait three years for the fruit tree to pass its forbidden stage [*orlah*]”⁸⁵⁵

Zornberg is puzzled by the allusion to an immature fruit tree, calling it “a strange analogy,” and noting that “the capacity to *wait* seems to be the issue here.”⁸⁵⁶ However, this idea, though uncommon, is not completely without parallel. For example, the fifteenth-century *Adamgirk* does not see Adam and Eve’s attempt to “become divine,”⁸⁵⁷ as forever futile, but merely premature—not being, as yet, “in its time.”⁸⁵⁸ As Joseph Smith taught: “That which is wrong under one circumstance, may be, and often is, right under another.”⁸⁵⁹

Medieval artistic convention makes it clear that Christ was imagined as raising the dead to eternal life by the same gesture that was used to create Adam and stand him on his feet.⁸⁶⁰ Likewise, we note the Old Testament literary formula that nearly always follows descriptions of miraculous revivals of the dead with the observation that they “stood up upon their feet.”⁸⁶¹ More generally, in Christian iconography this gesture is used in scenes representing a transition from one state or place to another. For example, a depiction at the Church of San Marco in Venice shows God taking Adam by the wrist to bring him through the door of Paradise and to introduce him into the Garden of Eden.⁸⁶² Another Christian scene shows God taking Adam by the wrist as he and Eve receive the commandment not to partake of the Tree of Knowledge.⁸⁶³ Likewise, scripture and pseudepigrapha describe how prophets such as Enoch,⁸⁶⁴ Abraham,⁸⁶⁵ Daniel,⁸⁶⁶ and John⁸⁶⁷ are grasped by the hand of an angel and raised to a standing position in key moments of their heavenly visions.⁸⁶⁸

It is by being raised by the hand to the upright position that we are made ready to hear the word of the Lord. It is no mere coincidence that before heavenly messengers can perform their errands to Ezekiel,⁸⁶⁹ Daniel,⁸⁷⁰ Paul,⁸⁷¹ Alma the Younger,⁸⁷² and Nephi⁸⁷³ they must first command these seers to stand on their feet.⁸⁷⁴ As biblical scholar Robert Hayward has said: “You stand in the temple,⁸⁷⁵ you stand before the Lord,⁸⁷⁶ you pray standing up⁸⁷⁷—you can’t approach God on all fours like an animal. If you can stand, you can serve God in His temple.”⁸⁷⁸ If you are stained with sin, you cannot stand in His presence.⁸⁷⁹



Figure 12-2: Stephen T. Whitlock, 1951-: *Tree Near British Camp*, 2009.

Although to be banished from the Garden of Eden “is to lose a particular standing ground,”⁸⁸⁰ it was always God’s intention to restore Adam and Eve to their former glory,⁸⁸¹ enabling their “confidence” to again “wax strong”⁸⁸² in His presence. Succinctly expressing the hopelessness of Adam’s predicament in the absence of God’s remedy, midrash states: “If it were not for Your mercy, Adam would have had *no standing* (*amidah*).”⁸⁸³

Israel’s Failure to Stand at Sinai

I have already mentioned the parallel between the first couple’s expulsion from Eden and Israel’s exodus from Egypt to the places of their probation. As the path of exaltation was revealed through five covenants given to Adam and Eve after the Fall,⁸⁸⁴ so Israel’s salvation was also understood to have been made contingent on its acceptance of the five parts of God’s law.⁸⁸⁵ Indeed, Rashi wrote of how all creation from the beginning waited in expectation for this Law to be revealed:

All the works of the beginning are suspended (literally, hanging and standing) until the sixth day of Sivan, which is destined for the giving of the *Torah*.⁸⁸⁶



Figure 12-3. William Blake, 1757-1827: God Creating the Universe, 1824

Implicit in such commentary is the idea that the very earth and heavens are preserved by means of the same covenant that mankind makes in order to assure its own standing with God. The original covenant from which all others derive was made before the “foundation of the world,”⁸⁸⁷ when the members of the Godhead agreed to create the universe.⁸⁸⁸ Afterward, the terms of this covenant were said to have been marked or “engraved” upon Creation itself, symbolically delimiting the bounds beyond which they were not to pass. For example, in the book of Proverbs, Wisdom speaks poetically as having been present “when [God] prepared the heavens, ... when he engraved a circle upon the face of the deep: ... when he set for the sea its engraved mark ... when he engraved the foundations of the earth.”⁸⁸⁹ In modern times, Joseph Smith also anticipated with great longing the day when he, like the author of Proverbs, would be able to “gaze upon eternal wisdom engraven upon the heavens.”⁸⁹⁰ Themes relating to these primordial “bounds” also appear in the Doctrine and Covenants⁸⁹¹ and in other statements by Joseph Smith.⁸⁹²

Illustrating the idea of the engraving of divine law on the fabric of the cosmos is the well-known print by William Blake, entitled “God Creating the Universe.” The solitary posture of the form seems to have been prescribed by Milton, who wrote of the moment when the Almighty “took the golden Compasses prepar’d ... to circumscribe This Universe, and all created things: One foot he centred, and the other turn’d Round through the vast profunditie obscure.”⁸⁹³

A corollary to the idea of God having ordered Creation through the establishment of Law is the Jewish teaching that man's continued defiance of the great covenant could cause the entire universe to "dissolve and disappear," bringing back the primordial state of a watery earth. It was, in fact, this very state that had been brought on by the rebellion of mankind in the prelude to Noah's flood, that was later witnessed in the total annihilation of Sodom, and that was also described by the prophets as they envisioned the complete desolation of a world destroyed by wickedness.⁸⁹⁴ Thus, midrash asserted: "God made a condition with the works of the Beginning—If Israel accepts the *Torah*, you will continue to exist; if not, I will bring you back to chaos."⁸⁹⁵

Israel, however, proved themselves unready to accept the fulness of God's law at Sinai.⁸⁹⁶ They preferred that Moses ascend the holy mountain alone.⁸⁹⁷ Painting a vivid word picture of the Israelites' inability to stand unmoved in the divine presence, Rashi explains that when they heard the sound of the voice of God "they moved backwards and stood at a distance: they were repelled to the rear a distance of twelve miles—that is the whole length of the camp. Then the angels came and helped them forward again." Zornberg reasons: "If this happened at each of the Ten Commandments, the people are imagined as traveling 240 miles in order to stand in place!"⁸⁹⁸ Though this imagery is, of course, figurative, it is highly instructive.

We see this same movement away from God and toward the regions of death at the incident of the Golden Calf.⁸⁹⁹ Before their sin, the Israelites looked upon the divine flames at the top of the mountain without fear, but as soon as they had sinned, they could not even bear to see the face of Moses, God's intermediary.⁹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Moses, like Jesus at the Transfiguration,⁹⁰¹ had been covered by a glorious cloud⁹⁰² and was made like God Himself.⁹⁰³ Moses then stood to Israel as God stood to him and, having received the power of an eternal life, he became known in the Samaritan literature as "the Standing One."⁹⁰⁴

Comparing the sin of the Israelites to the transgression of Adam, midrash has God reproaching them as follows:⁹⁰⁵

Like Adam, the people were destined to live forever, but "when they said, 'These are your gods, O Israel!,' death came upon them. God said, 'You have followed the system of Adam, who *did not stand* the pressure of his testing for three hours....' 'I said, "You are gods...." But you went in the ways of Adam,' so 'indeed like Adam you shall die. And like one of the princes you shall fall'—you have brought yourself low."⁹⁰⁶

The midrash uses the imagery of the Fall, with a perfect consistency. The sin, as such, is not mentioned. Instead, what Adam, and again the Israelites,

represents is a kind of spinelessness, a vapidty ... The word that is used in *Sanhedrin* 38b to describe the sin is *sarah*, which implies exactly this aesthetic offensiveness: it holds nuances of evaporation, loss of substance, and the offensive odor of mortification. "O my offense is rank, it smells to heaven."⁹⁰⁷ It signifies a failure to stand in the presence of God, to maintain the posture of eternal life. "You have brought yourselves low": man, the midrash boldly implies, does not really want full and eternal being. He chooses death, lessened being. What looks like defiance is an abandonment of a difficult posture.

"The Measure of the Stature of the Fulness of Christ"

Connecting the idea of an individual disciple standing in the holy place to the size of the temple are scriptural references to the requirement of exact conformance of the disciple to the moral dimensions defined by divinity. Only those who are of a perfect spiritual stature are qualified to stand in the presence of God. In describing the essential qualities the youthful Jesus acquired as he grew to manhood, Luke states that He "increased in wisdom and stature."⁹⁰⁸ In their strivings to become like their Lord, Paul instructed his readers to attain such "a knowledge of the Son of God" that would enable them also to become as the "perfect man," thus attaining unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."⁹⁰⁹ This supreme objective, of course, could not be accomplished without divine help, for "[w]hich of you by taking thought," Jesus rhetorically asked in the Sermon the Mount, "can add one cubit unto his stature?"⁹¹⁰

Adding to our understanding of the temple context of this motif is the compelling evidence provided by John W. Welch that the Sermon on the Mount, along with its companion Sermon at the Temple in the Book of Mormon, is best described as a "temple text."⁹¹¹ In broad outlines, Welch describes the instructions given to candidates for Christian initiation as they are figuratively guided by Jesus' sermon through the major areas of the temple:⁹¹² Having renounced Satan and accepted "angelic beings (cf. true temple personnel)... as ministrants," they proceed from the "court of the priests,"⁹¹³ into the "great hall,"⁹¹⁴ through the "narrow gate,"⁹¹⁵ to pass... the judgment of those guarding the holy place," and finally enter into "the holy presence."⁹¹⁶

In His great sermon, Jesus taught His disciples that in order to qualify for entry into the holy presence, they must live a life of consecration, seeking the "kingdom of God" in preference to any other consideration.⁹¹⁷ Unlike the Gentiles, who are obsessed with the pursuit of ordinary food and clothing, the

"meat," "drink," and "raiment" to be sought by the disciples is of an eternal nature. It cannot be obtained through human effort, but only as a gift from the Father.⁹¹⁸ For example, as Welch points out:⁹¹⁹

The "clothing" of which Jesus speaks is richly symbolic. The Greek word for being clothed is *enduo* (*endumatos*, "raiment," in Matthew 6:25, 28; *endusesthe*, "put on," in Matthew 6:25). Jesus uses this word in Luke 24:49, shortly after his resurrection, when he tells his apostles to remain in the city "until ye be *endued* with power from on high." It means "to endow."

The idea of the disciples adding cubit to cubit until they measured up to the perfection of Christ in stature would have been recognized by early Christians as an analogy to the process of temple building.⁹²⁰ The temple, like the disciple, was required to conform to the exact measures revealed by God.⁹²¹ Recall, for example, how the dimensions of each aspect of the Israelite Tabernacle were described in minute detail to Moses,⁹²² and how Ezekiel⁹²³ witnessed the careful measurement of his visionary temple. A similar motif of measurement of the temple precincts occurs in the book of Revelation,⁹²⁴

Ronan James Head and I have made a study of the Investiture Panel at Mari,⁹²⁵ where one is also struck by the significant role played by measurement in the planning and construction of temples and palaces. As emblems that symbolically conjoin the acts of measurement in laying the foundations of sacred buildings and the processes of cosmic creation, one sees the Mesopotamian rod and ring, shown in the right hand of the king in Figure 4-4. These two instruments of the rod and ring functioned essentially as a "yardstick" and a "tape measure,"⁹²⁶ and can be profitably compared to the "measuring reed" and "line of flax" of Ezekiel,⁹²⁷ as well as to the analogous cosmic surveying instruments of the square and the compass.⁹²⁸ Consistent with the general biblical symbolism, the Mesopotamian measuring devices also served as visual metaphors for the personal righteousness of those who were made kings.⁹²⁹ These kings, like the early Christians addressed by Jesus and Paul, were expected to "measure up" to their high and holy callings.

In light of this reading of the sermon, Jesus' words about man's inability to add to his own height are best read as an allusion to the spiritual "stature" required of one who desires to be clothed in robes of glory and stand in the presence of the Father. To attain the "measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"⁹³⁰ is to reach perfection in the temple of one's body and spirit, exactly matching God's Temple in "its precisely revealed measurements"⁹³¹—measurements whose dimensions are also laid out in cubits.⁹³² "No one," writes Welch, "would be presumptuous

enough to add a single cubit to any part of the Temple”⁹³³—nor can individuals, without divine aid, increase their spiritual stature to equal that of Christ Himself.



Figure 12-4. Jon McNaughton: *Garden of Eden, Garden of Gethsemane*

The Fall of the Temple Guards at Jesus’ Arrest

In his moving discourse on the Atonement, Elder Bruce R. McConkie compared the Garden of Eden to the Garden of Gethsemane.⁹³⁴ Note that a “serpent” was present on both occasions. In the first instance, one who had been “drawn away”⁹³⁵ by Satan incited Eve to transgress God’s command, resulting in expulsion from Eden. In the second, Jesus bore our transgressions, resulting in an arrest and departure incited by the “son of perdition.”⁹³⁶ In the Garden of Gethsemane, however, there was no deception, for Jesus already knew “all things that should come upon him.”⁹³⁷ Nor could the Christ be compelled by the officers sent to arrest Him. Though the incident occurred “in a situation of apparently complete inequality of power, ... it is not they but He who takes charge.”⁹³⁸ As Elder James E. Talmage wrote: “The simple dignity and gentle yet compelling force of Christ’s presence proved more potent than strong arms and weapons of violence.”⁹³⁹

12. “STAND YE IN HOLY PLACES AND BE NOT MOVED”



Figure 12-5. Ilya Efimovich Repin, 1844-1930: *The Arrest of Christ*, 1886

While Matthew, Mark, and Luke’s accounts highlight the perfidy of Judas as the one who identified his Master to the temple guards, the gospel of John emphasizes Christ’s mastery of the situation. The kiss of Judas does not appear in John’s narrative — in the words of Ridderbos “Judas’ task of identifying Jesus had been taken out of his hands.”⁹⁴⁰ Instead, at that moment, Jesus is shown in full control of the arresting party by His startling *self*-identification:⁹⁴¹

4 Jesus therefore, knowing all things that should come upon him, went forth, and said unto them, Whom seek ye?

5 They answered him, Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus saith unto them, I am *he*...

6 As soon then as he had said unto them, I am *he*, they went backward, and fell to the ground.

The King James translation of the Greek phrase *ego eimi* as “I am *he*” obscures an essential detail. In reality, Jesus has not said, “I am *he*,” but rather “I AM,” using a divine name that directly identifies Him as being Jehovah.⁹⁴² Thus, asserts Raymond E. Brown, it is clear that the fall of the temple guards is no mere slapstick scene that might be “explained away or trivialized. To know or use the divine name, as Jesus does [in replying with ‘I AM’], is an exercise of awesome power.”⁹⁴³

This event is nothing more nor less than a replay of the scene of the children of Israel at Sinai discussed earlier.⁹⁴⁴ In effect, in the gospel of John, the narrative takes the form of an eyewitness report⁹⁴⁵ of a solemn revelation to the band of

arresting Jewish temple guards⁹⁴⁶ that they were standing, as it were, in a “Holy of Holies” made sacred by the presence of the embodied Jehovah, and that they, with full comprehension of the irony of their pernicious intent, were about to do harm to the very Master of the Lord’s House, whose precincts they had been sworn to protect. As with the Israelites at Sinai who were unworthy and thus unable to stand in the holy place, “those of the dark world fell back, repelled by the presence of the Light of the world.”⁹⁴⁷

Standing in Holy Places in the Latter Days

The only direct mention in the New Testament of the idea of “stand[ing] in the holy place” is in Matthew 24:15:

When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand:)

Here the phrase is used *descriptively*, as part of Jesus’ discussion of the warning signs to which His disciples would be wise to attend. The plain meaning of the verse becomes more clear when it is rendered in conjunction with v. 16, with ellipsis, as follows: “When ye therefore shall see the abomination... stand in the holy place, ... let them... flee into the mountains.”⁹⁴⁸ Essentially, the disciples are being told that the sign by which they will know that they should “flee into the mountains” is the event of an “abomination” having been set up to “stand” in the “holy place” of the Jerusalem Temple—in other words, following Mark 13:14, “standing where it ought not to be.” Such an incident may have occurred during the Roman siege of the first century:⁹⁴⁹

Daniel’s prophecy of the “abomination of desolation”⁹⁵⁰ was fulfilled in AD 70, when the Roman general Titus entered the Most Holy Place and had a statue of himself erected in the temple before having the temple destroyed. The Lord’s phrase “when you see” indicates that many of the disciples would still be alive at that time.

While affirming that the event in question was connected with “the destruction of Jerusalem,” the Joseph Smith Translation (JST) differs with the King James Version in its *prescriptive* rendering of the key phrase:

When you, therefore, shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, *then you shall stand in the holy place*; whoso readeth let him understand.⁹⁵¹

12. “STAND YE IN HOLY PLACES AND BE NOT MOVED”

Also of interest is a verse, inserted later in the chapter by the Prophet, which speaks of a second “abomination of desolation” that is destined to occur “in the last days”:

And again, in the last days, the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, will be fulfilled.⁹⁵²

D&C 45:31-33 reiterates and further explains the events described in Matthew 24:

31 And there shall be men standing in that generation, that shall not pass until they shall see an overflowing scourge; for a desolating sickness shall cover the land.

32 But *my disciples shall stand in holy places, and shall not be moved*; but among the wicked, men shall lift up their voices and curse God and die.⁹⁵³

33 And there shall be earthquakes also in divers places, and many desolations; yet men will harden their hearts against me, and they will take up the sword, one against another, and they will kill one another.

The central message of these verses is that in spite of the “overflowing scourge” of a “desolating sickness” that “shall cover the land,” the “disciples shall stand in holy places and shall not be moved.” Note that in every reference to this concept in modern revelation⁹⁵⁴ the idea that the Saints should “stand in holy places” is connected to descriptions of the latter-day gathering and the destruction that will precede the Savior’s Second Coming.⁹⁵⁵

Where are the “holy places” in which we are to stand? In answer to this question, Elder David A. Bednar has drawn parallels to the first Passover, when the obedient Israelites marked their homes with lamb’s blood, consumed the sacred meal, and shut the door on passing death. Note that the Israelites ate while standing.⁹⁵⁶ Elder Bednar stated his belief that someday there will be a kind of latter-day Passover.⁹⁵⁷ In light of such teachings, the frequently heard suggestion that such “holy places” include temples, stakes, chapels, and homes seems wholly appropriate.⁹⁵⁸ However, it should be remembered that what makes these places holy—and secure—are the covenants kept by those standing within. Sodom itself could have been a place of safety had there been as few as ten righteous in the city to “pray on behalf of all of them.”⁹⁵⁹

Another vivid picture of such “holy places” is drawn for us in Isaiah⁹⁶⁰ and the Doctrine and Covenants, where the kingdom of God is described as a tent whose expanse increases continually outward from the “center place”⁹⁶¹ with the establishment of “stakes, for the curtains or strength of Zion.”⁹⁶² It is “in Zion, and

in her stakes, and in Jerusalem” that are to be found “those places which [God has] appointed for refuge.”⁹⁶³ God’s whole purpose is to draw the people of the world to such places of safety, the express purpose of the Church being “for the gathering of his saints to *stand* upon Mount Zion.”⁹⁶⁴

Those who are determined to stand and not be moved will pitch their “tent with the door thereof towards the temple,”⁹⁶⁵ the place of God’s presence where He covenants with His people. On the other hand, to knowingly and deliberately place oneself outside the tent of Zion through failure to make or keep saving covenants⁹⁶⁶ is to court mortal danger. Only through “cheerfully do[ing] all things that lie in our power,”⁹⁶⁷ while relying on “the merits, and mercy, and grace of the Holy Messiah”⁹⁶⁸ to make up our lack, can we be filled with sufficient faith to “*stand still*, with the utmost assurance to see the salvation of God.”⁹⁶⁹

Conclusions

In words once sung to those who aspired to enter the temple,⁹⁷⁰ the Psalmist asks: “Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place?”⁹⁷¹ The consistent answer from scripture is: “He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart.”⁹⁷² Even with the best intentions, of course, no mortal is capable of fully remaining in this state for very long. However, the permanence of this blessing eventually can be realized through lifelong persistence in a process of engagement and reengagement in sincere repentance and faithfulness to covenants—covenants that must be frequently renewed by participation in the ordinances of the Gospel. As Chauncey Riddle has written:⁹⁷³

... [Human] beings may be saved only by binding themselves to Christ.⁹⁷⁴ It is as if our task were to stand straight and tall before Father, but because of the Fall, we are broken and twisted. The Savior is our straight and tall splint. If we bind ourselves to Him, wrap strong covenants around us and Him that progressively draw us up into His form and nature, then we can become righteous as He is and can be saved.⁹⁷⁵

In spite of the bruised knees and tired limbs that this repeated cycle of standing and falling requires, our hearts are full of gratitude to God daily for the privilege of living for a while on an imperfect earth, for this is the way we gain our knowledge. Zornberg insightfully summarizes this lesson from Jewish tradition:

The *Talmud* makes an extraordinary observation about the paradoxes of “standing”: “No man stands on [i.e., can rightly under-stand] the words of *Torah*, unless he has stumbled over them.”⁹⁷⁶ To discover firm standing ground, it is necessary to explore, to stumble, even to fall...⁹⁷⁷

12. “STAND YE IN HOLY PLACES AND BE NOT MOVED”



Figure 12-6. Yahoel Lifts the Fallen Abraham, 14th century

In our repeated falls, we should be reassured in the knowledge that, like the Israelites at Sinai, we can receive help from “angels” appointed to assist our return.⁹⁷⁸ Such a scene is depicted above, where the fallen Abraham gratefully testified that the Angel Yahoel “took me by my right hand and stood me on my feet.”⁹⁷⁹

The continual challenges endemic in a disciple’s life should teach us something about “standing” itself: namely, that what might appear to the naïve as a “static position” will, with experience, eventually be better understood as “a point of equilibrium in the eye of a storm.”⁹⁸⁰ Lest anyone think that living a life of continual standing in the presence of God is a “heavy, humdrum, and safe” affair, I close with the words of G. K. Chesterton, who understood that the essence of discipleship is to maintain:

... the equilibrium of a man behind madly rushing horses, seeming to stoop this way and to sway that, yet in every attitude having the grace of statuary and the accuracy of arithmetic... It is always simple to fall; there are an infinity of angles at which one falls, only one at which one stands.⁹⁸¹

13. The “Temple Work” of Adam and Eve



Figure 13-1. Adam-ondi-Ahman, 2010

THOUGH Biblical commentaries often derive the name “Eden” from the Sumerian *edinu* (i.e., “a plain”), an alternative meaning, based on an Aramaic-Akkadian bilingual description, is “luxuriance”⁹⁸² or “abundance”—more specifically referring to an abundance of life-enriching water.⁹⁸³ The idea of luxuriance brings to mind the prominent place-name “Bountiful” in the Book of Mormon⁹⁸⁴—in fact, one proposed region for the Old World Bountiful was reputed to have been a place of such great plenty that its inhabitants were denounced by Islamic Hud traditions for their “attempt to create an earthly replica of Paradise.”⁹⁸⁵

Given the picture of the naturally growing, life-sustaining yields of the Garden of Eden, coupled with the absence of any troublesome weeds, students of the Bible have made various attempts to understand how Adam and Eve managed to stave off the “curse of idleness”⁹⁸⁶ during their sojourn in that happy place. For example, supposing that the daily labors of the first parents must have closely mirrored our own, Matthew Henry imagined that the man and the woman were placed in Eden to improve on God’s arrangements for the beauty and

productivity of the fruit trees placed there. He reasoned that: “Nature, even in its primitive state, left room for the improvements of art and industry.”⁹⁸⁷ Supposing that the “husbandman’s calling... was needed even in Paradise,” he drew out the lesson from God’s instructions to Adam and Eve to “dress” and “keep” the Garden that “[s]ecular employments will very well consist with a state of innocency and a life of communion with God.”⁹⁸⁸

In contrast to attempts to draw parallels between “secular employments” and the work of the first couple in Paradise, I believe that the very point of the scriptural injunction in Moses 3:15 is to inform Adam and Eve that no labor of the ordinary kind was required so long as they qualified to remain in that place. In this view, any conception that they were to focus their energies on digging and pruning the trees of Eden is surely mistaken, since the account makes clear that “man’s food was ever ready at hand.”⁹⁸⁹

In this chapter, I argue that a different, and even more strenuous and demanding kind of work was required of Adam and Eve while they lived in the Garden of Eden. Moreover, I will show that the divine injunctions given there to the first couple have not changed in their priority since mankind fell from Paradise.

Adam and Eve’s “Temple Work” in the Garden

A close analysis of Moses 3:15 in its immediate and wider context reveals that Adam and Eve’s occupation in Paradise was “temple work.” The verse states that Adam and Eve were put in the Garden of Eden “to dress it, and to keep it.” The Hebrew terms in Genesis for “to dress” (*abad*) and “to keep” (*shamar*) respectively connote to “work, serve, till”⁹⁹⁰ and “keep, watch (guard), preserve.”⁹⁹¹ Of course, these meanings are not, on the face of it, inconsistent with the practice of husbandry. Recalling, however, the temple-like layout of the Garden of Eden⁹⁹² and the fact that these are the very words that are used to describe the tabernacle duties of the Levites⁹⁹³ the phrase takes on deeper significance. Wenham remarked that “if Eden is seen then as an ideal sanctuary, then perhaps Adam should be described as an archetypal Levite.”⁹⁹⁴ Sailhamer similarly comments:⁹⁹⁵

Man’s life in the garden was to be characterized by worship and obedience; he was a priest, not merely a worker and keeper of the Garden.... Throughout [Moses 3] the author has consistently and consciously developed the idea of man’s “likeness” to God along the same lines as the major themes of the Pentateuch as a whole, namely, the theme of worship and Sabbath rest.

In considering what occupied Adam and Eve’s time during their stay in the Paradise, remember that God had not yet declared an end to the period of

sanctification He had purposed for the seventh day of Creation.⁹⁹⁶ The first couple was no doubt meant to “imitate the divine pattern”⁹⁹⁷ of sacred “rest,” paralleling in a general way mankind’s later weekly Sabbath-keeping.⁹⁹⁸

The creation account had, however, already anticipated the eventual end of this first “Sabbath,” after the Fall. In Moses 3:5, we read:

And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew. For I, the Lord God, created all things, of which I have spoken, spiritually, before they were naturally upon the face of the earth. For I, the Lord God, had not caused it to rain upon the face of the earth. And I, the Lord God, had created all the children of men; and not yet a man to till the ground; for in heaven created I them; and there was not yet flesh upon the earth, neither in the water, neither in the air;

The gist of this obscure verse might be summarized as follows: “Before there were any troublesome weeds, before the cultivated grain was grown, before God caused the rain to fall, before man was commanded to till the ground, God made all things spiritually.”

In LDS writings, this verse is often cited in discussions of “spiritual creation.”⁹⁹⁹ It is true that a “spiritual creation” is mentioned, however that does not seem to be the main point of the passage. Rather, as Cassuto concludes, the primary function of the formula “every... before” in the Genesis account (corresponding to the “as not yet” pattern that commonly opens ancient Near East creation accounts¹⁰⁰⁰) is to foreshadow the eventual requirement for human cultivation of the earth *after* the Fall.

In support of this reading, Cassuto cites a connection between the initial absence of the plants (*siah* = shrub) of the field and herb (*‘eshebh* = grain) of the field mentioned here, and the later introduction of the thorns and thistles (interpreted as a particularization of *siah*) and herb of the field as a consequence of transgression in Moses 4:24.¹⁰⁰¹ From this perspective, the phrase could be seen as part of the opening bracket to the account that ends in 4:29,¹⁰⁰² serving to highlight the fact that neither the troublesome weeds (that depend on rain, rather than the natural irrigation provided in Eden) nor the life-sustaining grains (that depend upon human cultivation, rather than being fruitful of their own accord) were to appear until after the Fall, when Adam and Eve were bereft of the fruit provided by the trees of the Garden.¹⁰⁰³ From that point on, they would be obliged to till the ground by their own efforts and to call upon God to provide the rain on which the productivity of their fields would depend.¹⁰⁰⁴

Consequences of the Fall

In Moses 4:23-25, God describes to Adam the consequences of his anticipated transgression:

23 And unto Adam, I, the Lord God, said: Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the fruit of the tree of which I commanded thee, saying—Thou shalt not eat of it, cursed shall be the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life.

24 Thorns also, and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field.

25 By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, until thou shalt return unto the ground—for thou shalt surely die—for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou wast, and unto dust shalt thou return.

Note that, in contrast to the personal nature of the judgment pronounced on the serpent, Adam himself is not cursed. Instead it is the soil, from which the material elements of his own body were drawn, that will now oppose him, disturbing the original harmony between man and nature.

Illustrating the sudden replacement of Eden-like luxuriance and prosperity with desolation and obscurity of the fallen earth are the ruins of the famed city of Ubar, shown here. Also associated with the Islamic Hud traditions described earlier, Ubar was a major trading site and source of water at the crossing of two desert trails whose origins stretch back to nearly the beginning of human history. Then, in the early centuries of the Christian era, after thousands of years of abundance, the city was suddenly swallowed up by the desert sands.¹⁰⁰⁵ It was only through the help of special imaging technology from NASA satellites in the 1980s that the location of this lost city was again pinpointed. (Naturally, I am not asserting that an event like this explains the disappearance of Paradise, but only using the story to help imagine the magnitude of the contrast between Adam and Eve’s situation in the mortal world and their former life in Eden.)



Figure 13-2. Ruins of the Collapsed City of Ubar, 2006

In contemporary commonsense interpretation, the phrase “cursed shall be the ground *for thy sake*” is often taken to mean that the imposition of the new requirement to work the unproductive soil was in reality done for the personal benefit or advantage of Adam. However, a more accurate rendering in modern English of “for thy sake” is simply “because of thee.”¹⁰⁰⁶ In other words, God is merely saying that the cursing of the ground was an inevitable consequence of Adam’s transgression. He is not saying anything good about it.

Adam’s first source of sorrow will come from the troublesome weeds that the earth will bring forth in abundance. The following paraphrase of God’s words connects this consequence to the themes of choice and opposition:¹⁰⁰⁷ “As you have eaten the fruit, thus knowing good and evil, likewise you will have to distinguish good in what you eat (gramineous plants) from evil (thorns).”¹⁰⁰⁸

A second source of sorrow is the loss of the fruit trees of Eden as the source of mankind’s food (whether meant literally or figuratively)—leaving them nothing besides “the herb of the field” to eat. Rabbinical and early Christian literature and commentary formulated a reading of Moses 4:24-25 that saw in this phrase the consignment of Adam and Eve to a period of humiliating penance, to a degree in the likeness of Nebuchadnezzar’s abasement to a beastlike state.¹⁰⁰⁹



Figure 13-3. William Blake, 1757-1827: *Nebuchadnezzar*, 1795

Regarding Nebuchadnezzar, we read in Daniel 4:31-33:

O king Nebuchadnezzar,... The kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: ...until thou know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws.

In Blake's grotesque depiction of Nebuchadnezzar shown above, “we see [the king] in exile, animal-like on all fours. Naked, he gazes with mad horror at his own reflection like some kind of anti-Narcissus.”¹⁰¹⁰

Seeking to characterize the typological “children of Nebuchadnezzar” in sacred and secular literature, Doob contrasted the literary convention of the “unholy wild man” with that of the “holy wild man.”¹⁰¹¹ Nebuchadnezzar is the prototype of the former category, his madness and self-exclusion from society ending only when he satisfactorily completed the process of penance.¹⁰¹² Enoch,¹⁰¹³ John the Baptist, and the later Christian adepts of monasticism and asceticism are

exemplars of the latter category, voluntarily taking on the rough clothing as “fools for God”¹⁰¹⁴ in a quest for “greater knowledge.”¹⁰¹⁵ The single luxury afforded by their spartan lifestyle was the freedom to dedicate themselves single-mindedly to the preaching of repentance with a loud voice to a deaf generation.

In presenting Adam and Eve as being temporarily reduced to eating the herb of the field like the animals,¹⁰¹⁶ the Jewish scholar Rashi played on the double meaning of *veirdu* in Moses 2:28. He commented that instead of man’s “having dominion” over the beasts as God originally intended, he now would “fall down” below and be with them.¹⁰¹⁷ The *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* says that after hearing the consequences of his transgression, Adam pled that he might be spared: “I beseech by the mercy before you, O Lord, let me not be reckoned before you as cattle, that I should eat the grass of the surface of the field. I will arise and labor... and I will eat the food of the earth; and thus let there be a distinction before you between the children of men and the offspring of cattle.”¹⁰¹⁸ Tradition records that God eventually answered Adam’s prayer by showing him how to grow wheat, making it clear that this curse was not meant as an arbitrary “punishment” but rather as a temporary ascetic “discipline for spiritual renewal.”¹⁰¹⁹ To a group of spurned penitents in the Book of Mormon, Alma said: “... it is well that ye are cast out, that ye may be humble, and that ye may learn wisdom.”¹⁰²⁰

Unlike his life before the Fall, Adam was now consigned to work the land to obtain his food. The importance of this labor is underscored when the language about tilling of the earth¹⁰²¹ and eating of bread by the sweat of his brow¹⁰²² is repeated in Moses 5. “The curse lies not in the work itself, which is decreed for man even in Eden,¹⁰²³ but in the uncooperative nature of the soil, so that henceforth the wresting of subsistence from it entails unremitting drudgery.”¹⁰²⁴ In this regard, temporal death will contribute “something positive here” to man, since it ultimately provides an end to his “toilsome work.”¹⁰²⁵ Despite such hardships, the subsequent news of the coming Redeemer will enable Adam to exclaim: “... in this life I shall have joy.”¹⁰²⁶ In his announcement to Adam and Eve of the news of the coming Savior, the angel had also revealed to them something about the nature of the *real* work that was meant to engage mankind. Significantly, there is no further mention of Adam and Eve’s efforts to cultivate the soil beyond this point, as the focus of the narrative turns exclusively to their efforts to preach the Gospel to their wayward children.



Figure 13-4: *Leapfrog*, Charles de Gaulle Airport, Roissy, France, 2010.

The Choice Between Two Kinds of Work

With the ever-available fruit of the Garden no longer in reach, the test now before Adam and Eve was to see if they could resist the temptation to make their labors on the land their exclusive occupation. In contrast to their life in Eden, they were instructed to exercise faith in God’s divine providence for the sunshine and rain needed for the success of their crops, while actively pursuing the higher vocation mandated by their acceptance of Gospel covenants as their primary concern.¹⁰²⁷ The story is presented as a stark choice between two ways. “Take no thought of what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink or wherewith ye shall be clothed!”¹⁰²⁸ is the wise counsel of their generous Benefactor and Friend. “If you leave my employ, what will become of you?”¹⁰²⁹ is the cynical scare-tactic used by their would-be padrone.

Which of these two perspectives is more realistic? Consider that the second character is someone who neither created nor really owns anything in this world, whose only motive is self-interest, and who is a “liar from the beginning.”¹⁰³⁰ Contrast that with what you know about the One who is the Maker and Ruler of all things, and then the answer should be easy. Each of these potential masters requests our service in full-time employ—while the former assures us that money is the key to anything we could possibly want in this world, the Latter gives His word that if we seek his kingdom first and foremost, any temporal things that we truly need “shall be added” to us freely as gifts from Him.¹⁰³¹ For the truth is, as Hugh Nibley explains, that all our prosperity ultimately relies on God’s unfailing generosity.¹⁰³²

Everything you have is a gift—everything. You have earned nothing. There is no concern for prosperity and survival where the Gospel is concerned. Everything we could possibly need for survival is given us at the outset as a free gift.

“But surely God expects us to work!” Of course he does, but we keep thinking of one kind of work, and he wants us to think of another....

The gifts do not excuse us from work, they leave us free to do the real work. The instrument is given to you; it is up to you to show what you can do with it. I’ll give you the piano or I’ll give you the violin—the real work is showing what you can do with it. The Lord provides the tools. “I’ll give you the stone and the chisel—now you show that you are a Michelangelo.” It is much harder to be a Michelangelo than to work enough to buy a chisel and some stone.

Here is a parable. A businessman had a young child who showed great promise in music and wanted to learn to play the piano. “Very well,” said the shrewd, realistic, hard-headed businessman father, “as soon as you have manufactured a piano for yourself, going out and mining the metals and getting together all of the other materials, doing all the work necessary to make a piano, then I will consider letting you take piano lessons.”

The child protests: “These are two different kinds of work.”

Playing a piano and making a piano are related, but in your short time on earth you can’t do both. That’s just the way it is. I’m not saying that temporal things are not important—they are indispensable. We must have them at the outset free of charge. Our welfare is a very important matter to God. And God has recognized that and has taken care of it. He picks up the tab and expects us not to concern ourselves with it, certainly not as constantly and exclusively as we do, or even give it priority. He supplies us with bodies free of charge and with their upkeep, also free of charge....

Like Adam, we are sent to this earth to go to school to learn things by our own experience, to be tried and tested and to seek ever greater light and knowledge. While we are here at school our room and board are all paid up by our kind, indulgent Father. What are we to study? Are we to spend all of our time at school studying how to get more and fancier room and board? That’s a vote of low confidence in our kindly benefactor; that’s a cynical sort of thing to do. But then I ask myself, “Isn’t that part of the experience of life?” Why ask me? Ask the one who is paying the bills for us what he intends us to study. He is most generous and explicit in his instructions, which are the first commandment given to the Church in these last days: “Seek not for riches but for wisdom, and behold, the mysteries of God shall be unfolded unto you, and then shall you be made rich. Behold, he that hath eternal life is rich.”¹⁰³³ “Ha! Make you rich after all!” The Father explains that: He who has eternal life is rich. That is the wealth he wants us to have.

“What's wrong with having both kinds?” Again, don't ask me. The scriptures are full of answers to that one. You cannot lay up treasures both on earth and in heaven;¹⁰³⁴ you cannot live the Gospel and be concerned with the cares of the world. That's what happened [in the story of] the sower: [some] accepted the gospel but did not give up the cares of this world.¹⁰³⁵ You *cannot* serve God and Mammon, you must hate the one and love the other.¹⁰³⁶ The rich man cannot enter heaven except by a very special dispensation.¹⁰³⁷ You cannot accept the Lord's invitation to his banquet without neglecting other business. Remember, the Lord said a man gave a banquet. Everything was all ready, and he wanted his friends all to come and enjoy themselves. Ah! But they had more important things to do. The business of the world was more important. One of them said, “Well, I bought some land and I have to go inspect it”; another said, “I'm looking over a few oxen and they are important”; and another said, “I have a social obligation with this wedding I have to go to.” The Lord was angry with them all. “You will never get to my feast, then. You must either come to my feast or do your business.”¹⁰³⁸

The point of all this is to show that mankind's current situation is really no different than it was when Adam and Eve lived in Eden: though a minimum quota of distraction with temporal work cannot be avoided in this world, we are not to set our hearts on growing the size of our flocks and fields, but rather to “seek... first the kingdom” and trust God for all the rest.

Conclusions

C. S. Lewis once wrote that there are three kinds of people in the world: “The first class is of those who live simply for their own sake and pleasure, regarding Man and Nature as so much raw material to be cut up into whatever shape may serve them... In the second class are those who acknowledge some other claim upon them—the will of God,... or the good of society—and honestly try to pursue their own interests no further than this claim will allow. They try to surrender to the higher claim as much as it demands, like men paying a tax, but hope, like other taxpayers, that what is left over will be enough for them to live on.”¹⁰³⁹ They carefully divide their lives into the categories of what they owe to Caesar and what they owe to God,¹⁰⁴⁰ and will vigorously defend, if necessary, the notion that sometimes Caesar just has to come first. The third class is of those who have truly “forsaken all” for Christ.¹⁰⁴¹ “These people have gotten rid of the tiresome business of adjusting the rival claims of Self and God by the simple expedient of rejecting the claims of Self altogether... The will of Christ no longer limits theirs; it *is* theirs. All their time, in belonging to Him, belongs also to them, for they are His.”¹⁰⁴²

In the covenant of baptism, we affirm that we do not wish to be people of this first class. By what we do with the rest of our life, we demonstrate to which of the other two classes we want to belong. Are we willing to follow our Savior at all costs? Is there anything that we would not give up if it stood in the way of our serving Him?

Now, there is an additional point we should not misunderstand. To consecrate one's life to Christ does not usually require that one quit his job and spend his days preaching on street corners. That may be true at some times for some people, but not for most of us, most of the time. It is a matter of the priorities of our hearts: when we find ourselves being frugal with our commitment of money and time to inessentials and generous in our offerings and in our service, when we give the discharge of our call as Christians more weight than the lure of recreation, when we are willingly doing what we can to "whittle down what is due to Caesar"¹⁰⁴³ because we truly want to increase what we have left to render to God, then we begin to understand what it really means when the Apostle Paul says that "to live is Christ."¹⁰⁴⁴

In Moses 4:31, we read:

So I drove out the man, and I placed at the east of the Garden of Eden, cherubim and a flaming sword, which turned every way to keep the way of the tree of life.

Note that the Hebrew term for "to keep" (*shamar* = keep, watch, guard, preserve) is identical to the earlier term describing one of the two duties given to Adam when he was originally placed in the Garden. Adam's former function "to keep the Garden"—which, of course, equates to the task of keeping "the way to the tree of life"—will henceforth be assumed by the cherubim.¹⁰⁴⁵ However, since no one is now appointed to fulfill the duty to "dress" the Garden (*abad* = work, serve within it as the archetypal Levite), it must remain unoccupied and unworked until man, prepared with "intelligence and knowledge" gained through "diligence and obedience," is ready to enter its sacred precincts.¹⁰⁴⁶ Meanwhile, mankind's field of labor is this world—and there is no lack of "temple work" for us to do.¹⁰⁴⁷

13. THE “TEMPLE WORK” OF ADAM AND EVE

14. The Prayer of Adam and Eve

MOSSES 5:4 tells us that Adam and Eve offered prayer after they left the Garden of Eden:

And Adam and Eve, his wife, called upon the name of the Lord, and they heard the voice of the Lord from the way toward the Garden of Eden, speaking unto them, and they saw him not; for they were shut out from his presence.

In answer to their petitions, Adam and Eve heard the Lord's voice calling them back from their place of exile on the fallen earth. Later, He gave them additional instruction and commandments in order to set their feet back on the way toward the Garden of Eden which is, of course, the path that terminates in "the way of the Tree of Life."¹⁰⁴⁸ In a passage from the *Midrash Tehillim*,¹⁰⁴⁹ the Hebrew term *teshuvah*, which denotes "return" but scripturally means "repentance" or "conversion," is used to describe the way back to the Garden, signifying "the movement that brings every thing and every being back to its supernal origin," the "return to the celestial abode."¹⁰⁵⁰ The spiritual movement of turning away from the sinful world and back toward mankind's heavenly origins is mirrored in the layout of ordinance rooms in some modern temples.¹⁰⁵¹

In this chapter, I will explore sources that purport to give details about ancient forms of prayer rooted in the experiences of Adam and Eve. Notable features of such prayers include uplifted hands, introductions spoken in an unknown language, repetition, and the veiling of the face by women.

Uplifted Hands

The practice of prayer with uplifted hands is frequently mentioned in ancient sources. Indeed, some texts specifically assert that its exercise goes back to the very beginning (e.g., "Adam was then offering on the altar, and had begun to pray, with his hands spread unto God"¹⁰⁵²). Even today, this gesture is widely recognized as a sign of distress, a call for help, and a demonstration of peaceful intent.¹⁰⁵³ Not surprisingly, Christians have also long connected the tradition with the posture of crucifixion.¹⁰⁵⁴ This classical *orans* (= Latin "praying") position was practiced by priests in temples throughout the ancient world. Notably, in the art of the catacombs, the *orans* posture was specifically associated with prayer offered by or in behalf of deceased souls.¹⁰⁵⁵

The Psalmist wrote: "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, nor sworn deceitfully."¹⁰⁵⁶ John Tvedtnes explains:

14. THE PRAYER OF ADAM AND EVE

The message of the Psalm is clear: In order to enter into the temple (the “hill of the Lord,” called “the mountain of the Lord’s house” in Isaiah 2:2), one must have clean hands and a pure heart. In other words, both acts (represented by the hands) and thoughts (represented by the heart) must reflect righteousness, along with the lips that utter the prayer.¹⁰⁵⁷

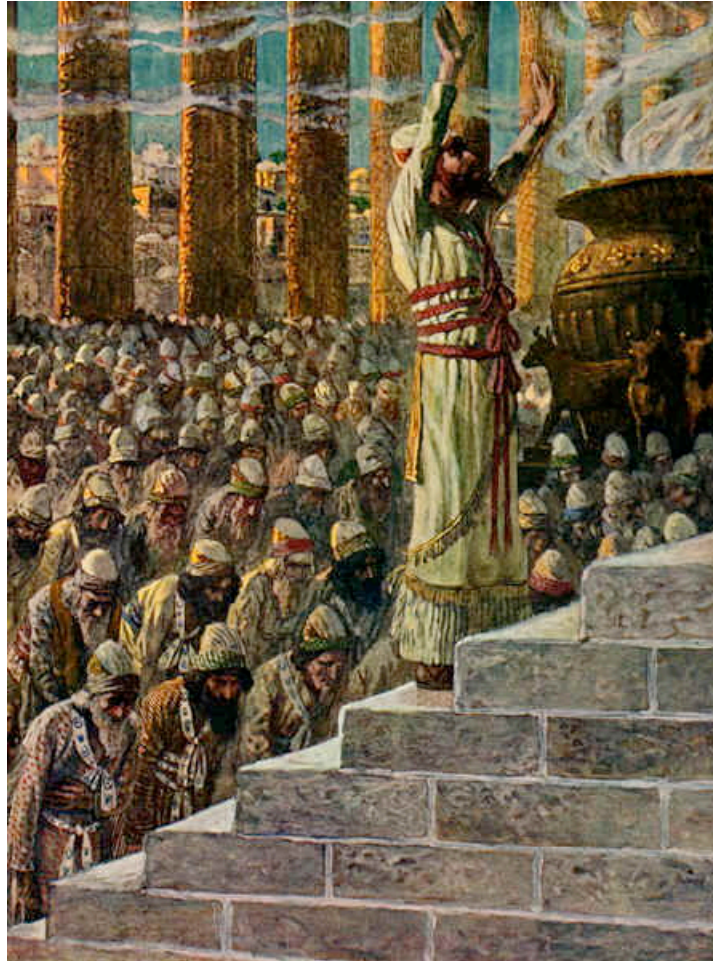


Figure 14-1. James Tissot, 1836–1902, Dedication of the Temple, ca. 1896-1902

Parry sees in Psalm 24 a possible reference to ancient prayer circles, noting that “prayer with upraised arms was an essential feature of holy petitions put up to God in the temple of Solomon.”¹⁰⁵⁸ “Clean hands” can also be thought of as a symbol of the justificatory remission of sins while a “pure heart” can be considered as the result of the process of sanctification.¹⁰⁵⁹

The one whose “palms are innocent, and whose heart is pure” will have the “privilege of appearing before God in his temple,”¹⁰⁶⁰ that he “may know him, and the power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his sufferings, being made conformable unto his death.”¹⁰⁶¹ The symbolism relates to sacrifice “after the order of the Melchizedek Priesthood”¹⁰⁶²—not the Levitical offering of animal sacrifice but an ongoing dedication of one’s own life in a spirit of consecration.¹⁰⁶³ Elder Neal A. Maxwell explained that “real, personal sacrifice never was placing an animal on the altar. Instead, it is a willingness to put the animal in us upon the altar and letting it be consumed!”¹⁰⁶⁴

Prayer Introductions Spoken in an Unknown Language

William Clayton wrote that the “first word Adam spoke” was “a word of supplication.”¹⁰⁶⁵ Accounts purporting to reproduce the words of that prayer have long puzzled interpreters. For example, Nibley cites *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, which says that Adam and Eve “stood with upstretched hands calling upon the Lord, as ‘Adam began to pray in a language which is unintelligible to us.’”¹⁰⁶⁶ The apocryphal *Gospel of Bartholomew* 2:13 gives a post-resurrection account of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the apostles praying with outspread hands. Her prayer likewise begins with words that M. R. James reports as being “hopelessly corrupted,” and that Edgar Hennecke simply omits.¹⁰⁶⁷ While James justifies abandoning any attempt at decipherment in his conclusion that “the matter is not of importance,”¹⁰⁶⁸ Nibley correctly explains that her “speaking in an unknown language” is actually “the usual code introducing [such a] prayer.”¹⁰⁶⁹

Repetition

Repetition is another hallmark of solemn prayer. For example, at the dedication of the Kirtland temple the Prophet prayed following the pattern of “Adam’s prayer”¹⁰⁷⁰ with threefold repetition: “O hear, O hear, O hear us, O Lord! ...that we may mingle our voices with those bright, shining seraphs around thy throne.”¹⁰⁷¹ Similarly, Abraham, having “rebuilt the altar of Adam” at the command of an angel,¹⁰⁷² is reported as having repeatedly raised his voice to God, saying: “El, El, El, El, Iaoel...”¹⁰⁷³ Accept my prayer.”¹⁰⁷⁴ Abraham’s prayer was also in imitation of Adam.¹⁰⁷⁵ The threefold repetition in some versions of the story might be seen as reflecting the tradition that it was not until the third day¹⁰⁷⁶ when Adam’s urgent and persistent request for additional knowledge from the Lord was at last answered with instruction by an angel. This angel is said to have borne a book that “teaches [those who are wise and God-fearing] how to call upon the angels and make them appear before men, and answer all their questions.”¹⁰⁷⁷ Likewise, the Prophet Joseph Smith was anxious to teach the Saints the manner by which they could “pray and have [their] prayers answered.”¹⁰⁷⁸

14. THE PRAYER OF ADAM AND EVE



Figure 14-2. Veiled Christian Woman Prays with Uplifted Hands, ca. 300-400

The Veiling of the Face by Women

This illustration, from the catacomb of Priscilla (late second through fourth century), shows a Christian woman in the attitude of prayer, with uplifted hands and wearing a veil. The ritual practice of the veiling of the face by women, as discussed in the writings of the Apostle Paul, raises complex and controversial issues, and has led to many points of misunderstanding that can only be touched on briefly here. While I will cite several LDS and non-LDS scholars on specific points of agreement, they would not necessarily reach the conclusions I outline below. In fact, I myself regard these conclusions as tentative and warranting much further study before they can be wholeheartedly accepted.¹⁰⁷⁹ I am intrigued, however, by the possibility that Paul's words on the veiling of the face by women might be relevant to the context of temple teachings.

As a general illustration of how Paul is sometimes misunderstood, the brilliant classicist Sarah Ruden cites George Bernard Shaw, whose analysis of Paul's writings ends with the assertion that he was "the eternal enemy of Woman."¹⁰⁸⁰ However, Ruden concludes otherwise, stating that "Shaw's view of Paul as an oppressor could hardly be more wrong"¹⁰⁸¹ and that, in particular, his instructions to women to veil themselves during prayer was "aimed toward an outrageous equality"¹⁰⁸² that ran completely counter to the cultural and religious traditions of his time. Also arguing for the distinctiveness of Paul's teachings on the wearing of the veil, LDS scholar Lynne H. Wilson writes that "while the Pharisaic tradition confined, the Greco-Roman segregated, and the ancient Assyrian labeled," the Christian ritual practice, instead, "empowered."¹⁰⁸³

To understand why this is so, the basic function of veils in temple contexts should be recalled: to hide the glory of what they enclose from individuals who are as yet unfit to behold the splendor within.¹⁰⁸⁴ For example, drawing an analogy between the radiant brightness of God and the unapproachable light of the Holy of Holies, on the one hand, and the celestial firmament and the veil of the temple, on the other hand, rabbinical commentators explained that the wicked are not worthy to enjoy the light of God's presence, therefore it was hidden away to be enjoyed later by the righteous in the Messianic Age.¹⁰⁸⁵ Certain exceptions, however, could be made in the case of prophets and other righteous individuals who, because of their purity and faithfulness, were permitted to go beyond the heavenly veil and speak with God face to face.

The First Epistle of John reminds us that the essential quality that enables one to see God is to resemble Him not only in image but also in likeness¹⁰⁸⁶ and purity.¹⁰⁸⁷ Part of that likeness is, as Alan Segal observed:¹⁰⁸⁸

... the spiritual glow, radiance, or splendor, the special resemblance of Adam to God before the Fall, which is imparted only to those who, like Moses, have been called into the presence of God. Paul implies that converted Christians have also received this glow from the presence of God... “And we all, with unveiled face, beholding the glory of the Lord are being changed into His likeness from one degree of glory to another.”¹⁰⁸⁹

In his discussion of this topic,¹⁰⁹⁰ Paul cites the example of Moses, whose “face shone while he talked with [God].”¹⁰⁹¹ Because the children of Israel could not bear to see God’s glory even in its reflected form, Moses “put a vail on his face”¹⁰⁹² while addressing them. However, returning to the presence of God, “he took the vail off.”¹⁰⁹³ Beale and Carson observe: “If the Corinthians were already familiar with Exodus 34:33-34 and had heard Paul express something similar to 2 Corinthians 3:13-18, then one could easily see how some might deduce that the women also should act like Moses and remove the veil when entering into God’s presence, since Paul indicates we should ‘all’ approach God with ‘unveiled faces.’” Thus, it becomes understandable why Paul, in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, might have found it necessary to explain “why women should continue to wear veils even when in the presence of the Lord” as they engaged in sacred prayer.¹⁰⁹⁴

Both the content and language of Paul’s teachings in 1 Corinthians 11 seem to echo what LDS readers will recognize as temple themes. For example, in introducing his remarks about the veiling of women, Paul admonishes his readers to “keep the ordinances [*paradosis*], as I delivered them to you.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Wilson notes: “The Septuagint (LXX) used *paradosis* to describe the ritual teachings that Moses handed down orally.”¹⁰⁹⁶ Though it cannot be concluded with certainty that Paul is referring to a temple context for the form of prayer he describes, the Prophet Joseph Smith affirmed that: “Paul... knew... all the ordinances, and blessings were in the Church.”¹⁰⁹⁷ Referring to Paul’s discussion of Moses’ glorification in 2 Corinthians 3 (discussed above), Christopher Morray-Jones¹⁰⁹⁸ concludes that it must have been derived, at least in part, from the Jewish mystic traditions involving:

... the transformation of the visionary who beholds God’s Glory into an angelic or supra-angelic likeness of that divine Image. This transformation is typically described in terms of robing, crowning, anointing, enthronement, and/or reception of (or clothing with) the divine Name... The sources associate this transformation with participation in the celestial liturgy, through the medium of ecstatic praise.

Discussions of the Jewish quorum of prayer, or *minyan*, emphasize that when it is “formed in the proper manner below [it] unifies the heavenly realm above.”¹⁰⁹⁹

Paul's teachings on the veiling of women during prayer can be only briefly summarized here. As a starting point, it is important to recognize that the hinge point of his arguments in favor of this practice revolve around the relationship of man and woman to God and to each other. Taking 1 Corinthians 11:11 as a key to the interpretation of the entire passage, Kevin Barney comments: "Paul assumes that this whole theme is to be taken in the context of marriage being the normal state for man and woman, that together they form a divine unit."¹¹⁰⁰

Though his eventual conclusion points to the oneness of man and woman "in the Lord,"¹¹⁰¹ in the course of his argument, Paul describes their relationship in the form of prayer he describes as intriguingly asymmetric, using "details from Genesis 2 to explain why the man cannot be understood as the glory of the woman, while the woman can be understood as the glory of the man."¹¹⁰² There seems to be no question here of the woman being presented as a second-class participant in the ordinances or, for that matter, in eternal life, as some have erroneously concluded.¹¹⁰³ Rather, by way of analogy to the divine radiance of Moses in Exodus 34:33-34, the veil might be understood not only as a woman's sign of authority,¹¹⁰⁴ necessary for her own exaltation, but also as a witness of womanhood's glory, a glory that must eventually be shared with man if he is to attain completeness in God's sight.

Given the understanding from modern revelation about the order of temple blessings,¹¹⁰⁵ the pattern of prayer outlined here seems to teach that the sequence of derivation portrayed in the creation account, whereby man is first created and then woman is taken from man, is to be repeated in the culminating steps of the Atonement: Man must first become one with God; only then can He and Woman be made one through the sealing power. Seen in this light, the two parts of Paul's argument, namely the difference in prayer prescriptions for man and woman presented in 1 Corinthians 11:4-10 and the mutual interdependence and absolute equality in standing before the Lord portrayed in vv. 11-12, "do not present a contradiction, but are presented in parallel form to represent the duality of the sexes, a duality only ultimately resolved through exaltation."¹¹⁰⁶ In the meantime, the veil does not hinder—and may even enhance—the moment of woman's personal communion with God. As Cyril of Jerusalem taught: "But when thine eyes are veiled, thine ears are not hindered from receiving the means of salvation."¹¹⁰⁷ Though some differences in the form of Pauline prayer are apparently required for men and women, the blessings ultimately intended are the same for both.¹¹⁰⁸

How, then, might the process of perfection of the man and the woman be represented concretely in the veiling of the woman's face? Through prayer, "with unveiled face," the man, "beholding the glory of the Lord" could be understood as

“being changed into His likeness from one degree of glory to another.”¹¹⁰⁹ From this perspective, only when the transformation is complete, after he has become “like” God and seen Him “as he is,”¹¹¹⁰ could the glory of the woman, with unveiled face and “power on her head,”¹¹¹¹ be revealed to the man in the presence of God. On the other hand, if a woman were to pray uncovered, prematurely unveiling her face to the unready man standing before the Divine, it would bring “dishonour” upon him,¹¹¹² just as it would have brought shame upon an Israelite temple priest to proceed beyond the temple veil while still unprepared.¹¹¹³ Summarizing her view of Paul’s argument, Wilson writes:

Without the woman, man cannot achieve his glory Through the spousal relationship, a woman and a man become a whole entity. Woman was created so that a glorious union could potentially be formed... In this sense, a woman allows a man to achieve his glory.¹¹¹⁴

Conclusions

John Tvedtnes has written that “prayer opens the veil to allow one to enjoy the presence of God.”¹¹¹⁵ Similarly, prayer might be understood as a preparation for the enjoyment of eternal companionship between a man and woman who are fit for the fulness of covenant love.

In this light, it is easy to see why marriage between such a woman and man is the perfect similitude of the eventual union of Christ with His Church.¹¹¹⁶ As “the glory of the Lord shall be revealed”¹¹¹⁷ only when “a glorious church”¹¹¹⁸ is ready to enjoy the fulness of His presence, so the glory of a woman is to be shared with a man in its fulness only when he himself has been made glorious, after demonstrating his faithfulness in every respect to his covenant to keep the final law of consecration — including having loved his wife “even as Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it.”¹¹¹⁹ Scott Hahn writes:¹¹²⁰

That which is veiled is holy, to be unveiled only in covenant love. What the Apocalypse [i.e., the book of Revelation¹¹²¹] “unveils” is history’s final consummation, the marriage of Christ to His bride, the Church.¹¹²² She is “the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.”¹¹²³ Like the Holy of Holies, Christ’s bride is four-square and resplendent with pure gold.¹¹²⁴

By “unveiling” the Church, our priestly Bridegroom reveals the gift of His love to His bride—the New Jerusalem—in the “glory and beauty” of the Spirit.¹¹²⁵ And what else? The New Creation—“a new heaven and a new earth.”¹¹²⁶

15. Adam, Eve, and the New and Everlasting Covenant

WHILE the importance of account of the Creation and the Fall in Moses 1-4 cannot be overstated, a careful reading of Moses 5-8 is required to see the prior material in its overall context.¹¹²⁷ Reeves observes:

Most modern students of Bible fail to discern the pivotal significance which [the tale of Cain and Abel] plays in the present narrative structure of Genesis because of the enormous religious significance with which ancient, medieval, and modern Christian interpreters have invested the immediately preceding story of Adam and Eve in the Garden... I would like to suggest that while admittedly the episode of disobedience in the Garden was not a good thing, the story of Cain and Abel introduces something far worse into the created order... It represents a critical turning point in antediluvian history, and is... the key crime which leads ineluctably to the Flood.¹¹²⁸

Foreseeing the similar rise of alluring wickedness in our own time, the Savior warned that “as it was in the days of Noah, so it shall be also at the coming of the Son of Man.”¹¹²⁹

Happily, however, the story of Adam and Eve and their family after the Fall:

... is not an account of sin alone but [also] the beginning of a drama about becoming a being who fully reflects God’s very own image. Genesis is not about the origins of sin; it is also about the foundations of human perfection. The work that God has begun in creation he will bring to completion.... [E]arly Jewish and Christian readers [were] aware of this while most of their modern counterparts have not been.¹¹³⁰

The clarity with which the fundamental doctrines, laws, and ordinances of the gospel begin to unfold in Moses 5 fully justifies Hugh Nibley in calling it “the greatest of all chapters” in scripture.¹¹³¹

In this chapter, I will summarize Hugh Nibley’s overviews of pseudepigraphal traditions that relate Satan’s attempts to derail Adam and Eve’s efforts to remain faithful to God’s commandments after their separation from His presence. I will then outline some of the countermeasures taken by God as He began to reveal the New and Everlasting Covenant to mankind by means of heavenly messengers.



Figure 15-1. Harold Denison, 1870-1943: *Devil Approaches Jabez Stone*, 1937

The Way of Satan

The illustration above is taken from Stephen Vincent Benét's 1936 story *The Devil and Daniel Webster*, made into a popular film in 1941. Piazza characterizes the latter as "a fascinating allegory, filmed on the eve of World War II, of a society gone mad with materialism, a premonition of the opportunities and dangers awaiting the United States as it recovered from the Great Depression."¹¹³² Old Scratch is portrayed as polite, refined, and soft-spoken—and as usual, he "gets the best lines" as he preaches his gospel of cold cash to a down-on-his-luck New Hampshire farmer. Warned Benét: "[I]f a smooth-spoken and businesslike stranger should appear at your door and offer you all that money can buy in exchange for your freedom of soul, it might be well to look him over rather carefully. I seem to have heard that there are such people abroad in the world, even today."¹¹³³

As a summary of the sudden downward pull Satan exercised on newly fallen mankind, Nibley succinctly tells the stock story of his efforts to supplant God's plan of dominion with his own—a sequence of scenes that has been reenacted countless times since Adam and Eve left the Garden of Eden.¹¹³⁴

The story is told not only of Adam but of the other great patriarchs as well. Noah was confronted by the same party with the same proposition while he was working in his garden after the Flood.¹¹³⁵ Abraham too had an Eden and an altar, and while he was once calling upon God in prayer, Satan suddenly showed up with an insolent, “Here I am!” and proceeded with his sales pitch.¹¹³⁶ Moses like Christ was tempted on a mountain, by the same person and with the same proposal: “If thou wilt worship me, all shall be thine.”¹¹³⁷ Adam is thus only the first; the elements of the story that follow are found in various combinations among the many texts of the growing Adam literature that is coming to light in our generation. The texts often take dramatic form indicative of ritual origin.

As Adam was praying one day, runs the story, a distinguished gentleman appeared on the scene and engaged him in conversation... [H]e was well-dressed, and came to Adam with “cunning and smooth talk, as a true friend genuinely concerned for his welfare.”¹¹³⁸ He began with some harmless generalities — the weather and the scenery: it was, he observed, a most glorious and beautiful world. This, however, by way of leading up to his next point, which was that he happened to be the owner and proprietor of it all.¹¹³⁹ Yes sir, as far as the eye could see it was all his, and he tolerated no nonsense in it: nobody dared make trouble where he was in charge. This was all hokum, of course; “Satan never owned the earth; he never made a particle of it,” said Brigham Young, “his labor is not to create, but to destroy.”¹¹⁴⁰ But to demonstrate his authority, when three strangers (usually described as angels)¹¹⁴¹ appeared on the scene at this moment, he at once challenged them as trespassers, asking them if they had any money. He explained to Adam that everything in his world could be had for money,¹¹⁴² and then got down to business. For the fellow was all business, a person of integrity, ready to keep his part of an agreement (the agreement always turns out to be a trap for the other party), pious and God-fearing, dedicated to hard work — he works, in fact, “like a demon.” He was there to offer Adam the chance of a lifetime to buy in on a scheme that would give him anything he wanted in this world. It was an ingenious and simple self-financing operation in which one would buy power with wealth and then more wealth with the power, until one might end up owning and controlling everything. The initial capital? It was right under their feet! You begin by taking the treasures of the earth, and by exchanging them for the services of important people in key positions; you end up

running everything your way. What if your rule is one of blood and terror? Better to rule in hell, as Milton's Satan puts it, than to be ruled in heaven!¹¹⁴³

The most widely known extracanonical account of Adam and Eve's experiences after they leave the Garden of Eden is the *Life of Adam and Eve* (hereafter *Life*), which exists in Greek, Latin, Armenian, and Georgian recensions¹¹⁴⁴ as well as in several later texts derived in part from it.¹¹⁴⁵ A major theme of this series of stories concerns the unsuccessful attempts of Satan to deceive Adam and Eve, who become increasingly immune to his wiles through the knowledge and protective power provided by angelic visitations, and the knowledge and covenants received through ordinances.



Figure 15-2. Lutwin: How the Devil Deceived Eve (detail), early 14th century

For example, the *Life* tells of how Adam and Eve, following their transgression and expulsion from Eden, spent a time of penance standing, respectively, in cleansing waters of the Jordan and Tigris Rivers. During Eve's penance, Satan appears as an angel of light to persuade her to leave the river prematurely. Robinson notes the significant warning that Adam had previously given her:

"Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall

again into the snare.” Thus, properly equipped, Eve does not succumb to Satan the second time.¹¹⁴⁶

Since the Atonement covers the offenses of the innocent and unwittingly deceived, as well as temporarily shortsighted individuals who repent and prepare themselves to receive the gift of the Savior’s great sacrifice, there is a happy ending for Adam and Eve. However, Moses 5 has a different message about the fate of those who unrepentantly “love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.”¹¹⁴⁷ Of such was Cain who, had he “fulfilled the law of righteousness as did Enoch... could have walked with God all the days of his life and never failed of a blessing.”¹¹⁴⁸ Instead, he “sinned with his eyes open,” “was cursed,”¹¹⁴⁹ and became known not merely as one of the “sons of perdition”¹¹⁵⁰ but rather, in similitude of Satan, as “Perdition” itself, it having been prophesied that Cain, if he did not repent, would be so preeminent in evil that he would “rule over” Satan himself.¹¹⁵¹

Nibley describes the approach by which Satan “plans to put the world under his bloody and horrible misrule.” He appeals to anyone willing to consecrate their time and efforts to adopt his agenda—namely to “murder and get gain”¹¹⁵²—as their own:

He will control the world economy by claiming possession of the earth’s resources; and by manipulation of its currency—gold and silver—he will buy up the political, military, and ecclesiastical complex and run everything his way. We see him putting his plan into operation when he lays legal claim to the whole earth as his estate, accusing others of trespass, but putting everything up for sale to anyone who has the money. And how will they get the money? By going to work for him. He not only offers employment but a course of instruction in how the whole thing works, teaching the ultimate secret: “That great secret”¹¹⁵³ of converting life into property. Cain got the degree of Master Mahan, tried the system out on his brother, and gloried in its brilliant success, declaring that at last he could be free, as only property makes free, and that Abel had been a loser in a free competition.¹¹⁵⁴

The Three Messengers

Moses 5 not only describes the way that leads to spiritual death, but also reveals the way back to eternal life and the presence of the Lord. Jacob explained that this “way is prepared from the fall of man... And men are instructed sufficiently that they know good from evil.”¹¹⁵⁵

D&C 29:42-43 affirms that Adam and Eve received knowledge of all these things through specially appointed messengers:

But, behold, I say unto you that I, the Lord God, gave unto Adam and unto his seed, that they should not die as to the temporal death, until I, the Lord God, should send forth angels to declare unto them repentance and redemption, through faith on the name of mine Only Begotten Son.

And thus did I, the Lord God, appoint unto man the days of his probation—that by his natural death he might be raised in immortality unto eternal life, even as many as would believe

A parallel account involving three divine messengers can be found in the story of Abraham.¹¹⁵⁶ In the Orthodox Church, the famous icon by representing this event is used as a symbol of the oneness of the Godhead, and the “beginning of the promise of Redemption” which reached “its fulfillment on the day of the Pentecost,” binding together the Old Testament and New Testament Churches.¹¹⁵⁷

With reference to accounts of visits of divine messengers to Adam and Eve, Alonzo Gaskill observes that:¹¹⁵⁸

Peter, James, and John, whether appearing to Adam and Eve or serving as the head of the postresurrection Church in the meridian of time, are symbols of something much greater than themselves, namely, the Godhead... as [are] all subsequent First Presidencies. Whether these three brethren, or any set of tripartite messengers had physical contact with Adam and Eve (or any other Old Testament figure) makes no difference. What is of importance is what they brought and whom they represented.

“Many scholars consider Rublev’s *Trinity* the most perfect of all Russian icons and perhaps the most perfect of all the icons ever painted.”¹¹⁵⁹ Ouspensky points out that the basic form of the icon is a circle:¹¹⁶⁰

Passing through the upper part of the nimbus of the central Angel and partly cutting off the bottom of the pedestals, this circle embraces all three figures, showing very faintly through their outlines... In this way the central Angel, though taller than the others, does not overwhelm or dominate them... The icon... has action, expressed in gestures, communion, expressed in the inclining of the heads and the postures of the figures, and a silent, motionless peace... [T]he gestures of the hands are directed towards the eucharistic chalice, with the head of a sacrificial animal, which stands on the white table as on an altar. Symbolizing the voluntary sacrifice of the Son of God, it draws together the gestures of the Angels, indicating the unity of will and action of the Holy Trinity, Who entered into a covenant with Abraham.



Figure 15-3. Andrei Rublev, ca. 1360-ca. 1430: *The Holy Trinity*, ca. 1408-1425

The Father, represented at left, is dressed differently than the other two. He wears, as Ouspensky describes it, “a pale pink cloak with brown and blue-green lights” of “sober and indefinite hue” that covers both shoulders. The Son, depicted in the middle and embodying the fulfillment of the ordinances of sacrifice performed by the Aaronic or Levitical priesthood,¹¹⁶¹ “has the customary colors of... a purple *chiton* [= a draped, belted tunic] and a blue cloak” draped over His left shoulder, the color of the cloak symbolizing incarnation.¹¹⁶² Behind Him grows a Tree of Life, born of His sacrificial death. The “principal color” of the Holy Spirit is green, represented in the cloak draped over His right shoulder. Here, the color green “signifies ‘youth, fullness of powers.’ This specifically indicates the properties of... renewing all things and giving them life.”¹¹⁶³ The symbolism recalls the promise made to those who are to be “sanctified by the Spirit unto the renewing of their bodies.”¹¹⁶⁴

The New and Everlasting Covenant

God's motivation in instituting laws is, as the Prophet Joseph Smith explained, "to instruct the weaker intelligences," allowing fallen humanity to gradually "advance in knowledge" so that eventually they "may be exalted with [God] himself."¹¹⁶⁵ The Syriac version of the *Testament of Adam* expresses the belief of early Christians who taught that the Savior Himself revealed the plan of salvation to Adam, bringing the eventual possibility of godhood within the reach of fallen mankind:¹¹⁶⁶

And on this account [God] taught me in the midst of Paradise when I picked the fruit in which death was hiding. And he said to me, "Adam, do not fear. A god you desired to be; a god I will make you. However, not right now but after a space of [many] years. Right now I am going to drive you from paradise, and I will bring you down into the earth of thorns. Your back I will bend [and] your knees will quake from old age overtaking you. I am delivering you up to death. The maggot and worm will devour your body.

And after a short time my mercy [will be] revealed to you: I will go down to you... For your sake, Adam, I become an infant... For your sake, Adam, I ascend the cross... For your sake, Adam, I open the tomb."

The set of laws and ordinances that were given to Adam and Eve are known collectively as "The New and Everlasting Covenant." This comprehensive covenant includes the baptismal and temple covenants as well as covenants made at other times. Because God is everlasting, the covenant is also "everlasting": it was first given to Adam, and later to all subsequent prophets.¹¹⁶⁷ Because it is given anew each time the gospel is restored, the Lord also describes it as "new."¹¹⁶⁸ Riddle summarizes the two basic parts of the covenant:

Part one is the covenant of baptism, being born of water and of the Spirit. The covenant of baptism is our pledge to seek after good and to eliminate all choosing and doing of evil in our lives, and it is also our receiving the power to keep that promise. Part two of the New and Everlasting Covenant is to receive the power and authority of God and to become perfect in using that power and authority to minister to other beings to bring about their happiness.¹¹⁶⁹

Elder Bruce R. McConkie's name for the first part of the New and Everlasting Covenant is the "Covenant of Salvation." It is "accepted by men in the waters of baptism"¹¹⁷⁰ and is confirmed by the laying on of hands. Adam and Eve were the first mortals to receive this covenant, as Enoch recounts.¹¹⁷¹

As an element of the process of repentance, sacrifice is both a necessary precursor to baptism and a requirement for renewal of that covenant.¹¹⁷² The ordinance of sacrifice given to Adam and Eve¹¹⁷³ corresponds in our day to the sacrament.¹¹⁷⁴ Thus, as Elder McConkie explained, three ordinances (baptism, sacrifice, sacrament) are associated with one and the same covenant.¹¹⁷⁵

Jesus taught Nicodemus that “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”¹¹⁷⁶ Although this commandment is often understood to be completely fulfilled through baptism and confirmation, in reality these first ordinances are only the “gate” through which we begin our journey down the “strait and narrow path which leads to eternal life.”¹¹⁷⁷ Additional ordinances—along with the development of perfect faith, hope, and charity—are a necessary part of the process of spiritual rebirth that ultimately results in sanctification.¹¹⁷⁸

And now... after yet have gotten into this strait and narrow path, I would ask if all is done? Behold, I say unto you, Nay... Wherefore, ye must press forward... and if ye press forward, feasting upon the word of Christ, and endure to the end, behold, thus saith the Father: Ye shall have eternal life.¹¹⁷⁹

Speaking plainly on this topic, the Prophet declared that being “born again comes by the Spirit of God through ordinances¹¹⁸⁰—with the understanding that the bestowal of these ordinances and keys will continue even in the next life.”¹¹⁸¹ Joseph Smith explicitly linked the manner in which all the higher ordinances were given to the Saints to the figure of Adam, calling it the “order pertaining to the Ancient of Days.”¹¹⁸²

Elder McConkie calls the second part of the New and Everlasting Covenant “The Covenant of Exaltation.” He explains how it is related to the oath and covenant of the Priesthood:¹¹⁸³

When we receive the Melchizedek Priesthood, we enter into a covenant with the Lord. It is the covenant of exaltation. In it, we promise to magnify our callings in the priesthood, to keep the commandments, “to give diligent heed to the words of eternal life,”¹¹⁸⁴ to “live by every word that proceedeth forth from the mouth of God,”¹¹⁸⁵ and to enter the patriarchal order, which leads to a continuation of the family unit in the realms ahead.¹¹⁸⁶

Eventually, those who keep this oath and covenant are promised “all that [the] Father hath.”¹¹⁸⁷ When they are fully prepared, greater light and knowledge about the covenant will be given them through personal communion with the Father:

And every one that hearkeneth to the voice of the Spirit cometh unto God, even the Father.

And the Father teacheth him of the covenant which he has renewed and confirmed upon you...¹¹⁸⁸

Conclusions

The additional light and knowledge that Adam and Eve sought did not come immediately. We are told that it was only “after many days”¹¹⁸⁹ of faithfulness to the covenants of obedience and sacrifice that the angel first appeared. Then, through continuing to follow the light they had already received, that light gradually grew “brighter and brighter until the perfect day.”¹¹⁹⁰ So with us. One of the most comforting lessons of Moses 5 is that, as Hugh Nibley said: “[The Lord] doesn’t keep you waiting forever. Give your test sufficient time, enough to show your integrity, and you will get your answer.”¹¹⁹¹ And what an answer we have already received in the loving mercy made both plain and operable through the New and Everlasting Covenant!

16. The Five Celestial Laws



Figure 16-1. Jan van Eyck, ca. 1395-1441: *Offering of Abel and Cain*, 1425-1429.

THIS carefully conceived scene, executed in grisaille to decorate the top of a niche containing a portrait of Adam, is part of a set of large altarpiece panel paintings in the Joost Vijdt chapel in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, Belgium. The portrayal of Abel lifting up the lamb “prefigures both the sacrifice of Christ and the Eucharist.”¹¹⁹² The contrasting choices of Cain and Abel with respect to their covenantal obligations typify the account of the parting of the ways of righteousness and wickedness that begins in Moses 5. Of those who follow the way of wickedness, Jude wrote: “Woe unto them! For they have gone in the way of Cain.”¹¹⁹³

Relating the themes of opposition and agency that are portrayed in the story of Cain and Abel, Hugh Nibley frequently wrote about “the inescapable choice between Two Ways.”¹¹⁹⁴ This ancient doctrine “proclaims that there lie before every human ... two roads between which a choice must be made. The one is the

road of darkness, the way of evil; the other, the way of light. Every man must choose between the two every day of his life; that choosing is the most important thing he does... He will be judged by God in the proper time and place. Meantime he must be free, perfectly free, to choose his own way.¹¹⁹⁵

In this chapter, I will outline the five celestial laws of the New and Everlasting Covenant, first revealed in the days of Adam.¹¹⁹⁶ During periods of darkness, the ordinances associated with these laws were generally withdrawn from the earth, however their shadows have persisted in religions and cultures the world over.¹¹⁹⁷ Nowhere in scripture are these teachings better preserved than in the book of Moses. Not only do we find each law there in proper sequence, but also, in every case, we discover stories that illustrate their application, both positive and negative. Indeed, it seems as if the telling of the stories of Moses 5-8 were deliberately structured in order to highlight the contrast between those who accepted and those who rejected the laws of heaven.¹¹⁹⁸

The Five Celestial Laws

Specific teachings about the five celestial laws are to be had in the temple. Elder Ezra Taft Benson elaborates:

Celestial laws, embodied in certain ordinances belonging to the Church of Jesus Christ, are complied with by voluntary covenants. The laws are spiritual. Thus, our Father in Heaven has ordained certain holy sanctuaries, called temples, in which these laws may be fully explained, the laws include the law of obedience and sacrifice, the law of the gospel, the law of chastity, and the law of consecration.¹¹⁹⁹

Why are these called the celestial laws? Because only those who are “sanctified”¹²⁰⁰ through their faithfulness to them, coupled with the redeeming power of the Atonement, can “abide a celestial glory.”¹²⁰¹ Otherwise, they must “inherit another kingdom, even that of a terrestrial kingdom, or that of a telestial kingdom.”¹²⁰² The Lord further explains:

... that which is governed by law is also preserved by law and perfected and sanctified by the same.

That which breaketh a law, and abideth not by law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin, and altogether abideth in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment. Therefore they must remain filthy still.¹²⁰³

By means of obedience to these laws, the covenant people “remove themselves utterly from the world, to be completely different, holy, set apart, chosen, special,

peculiar (*'am segullah*—sealed), not like any other people on the face of the earth.”¹²⁰⁴

In ancient and modern temples, the story of events surrounding the Creation and the Fall has always provided the context for the presentation of the laws and the making of covenants that form part of the temple endowment.¹²⁰⁵ Thus, it is not surprising to find that a similar pattern of interleaving history and covenant-making themes may have also helped dictate both the structure and the content of the material selected for inclusion in the book of Moses. Writes Johnson:

Throughout the text [of the book of Moses], the author stops the historic portions of the story and weaves into the narrative framework ritual acts such as sacrifice and sacrament; ordinances such as baptism, washings and the gift of the Holy Ghost; and oaths and covenants, such as obedience to marital obligations and oaths of property consecration.... [If we assume that material similar to Moses 1-8 might have served as a temple text, it would be expected that as] this history was recited, acts, ordinances and ceremonies would have been performed during this reading. For instance, during the story of Enoch and his city of Zion, members of the attending congregation would be put under oath to be a chosen, covenant people and to keep all things in common, with all their property belonging to the Lord.¹²⁰⁶

A precedent for the idea of structuring key scriptural accounts to be consistent with a pattern of covenant-making can be found in John W. Welch's analysis of 3 Nephi 11-18, where he showed that: “The commandments... are not only the same as the main commandments always issued at the temple, but they appear largely in the same order.”¹²⁰⁷ In a similar vein, David Noel Freedman found evidence for an opposite pattern of covenant-*breaking* in the “Primary History” of the Old Testament. He argued that the biblical record was deliberately structured to reveal a sequence where the each of the commandments were broken one by one, “a pattern of defiance of the Covenant with God that inexorably [led] to the downfall of the nation of Israel.”¹²⁰⁸

The Way of Life	The Way of Death
Obedience (Moses 5:1-6)	Defiance (Moses 5:13-14)
Sacrifice (Moses 5:4-8, 20)	Perversion of Sacrifice (Moses 5:18-19, 21)
The Gospel (Moses 5:58-59; 8:19)	Works of Darkness (Moses 5:29-31, 47-57; 8:26)
Chastity (Moses 6:5-23; 8:13)	Licentiousness (Moses 6:15; 8:14-21)
Consecration (Moses 7:18)	Violence and Corruption (Moses 5:31-33, 50; 6:15; 8:28)
Endless Life (Moses 7:23, 69; 8:27)	Untimely Death (Moses 8:30)

Figure 16-2. The Progressive Separation of the Two Ways

The figure above illustrates the progressive separation of the “two ways” due to analogous sequences of covenant-keeping and covenant-breaking documented in the book of Moses. An interesting aspect of looking at the history of Adam through Enoch as a temple text is that—like Christ’s great sermons and the biblical text of the “Primary History”—the series of covenant-related themes unfolds in what appears to be a definite order of progression. Also remarkable is the fact that both the ultimate consequences of covenant-keeping as well as those of covenant-breaking are fully illustrated at the conclusion of the account: in the final two chapters of the book of Moses, Enoch and his people receive the blessing of an endless life as they are taken up to the bosom of God¹²⁰⁹ while the wicked experience untimely death in the destruction of the great Flood.¹²¹⁰

Obedience vs. Defiance

Elder Bruce R. McConkie stated that: “Obedience is the first law of heaven, the cornerstone upon which all righteousness and progression rest.”¹²¹¹ The reason why this is so is explained by Nibley:

If every choice I make expresses a preference, if the world I build up is the world I really love and want, then with every choice I am judging myself, proclaiming all the day long to God, angels, and my fellowmen where my real values lie, where my treasure is, the things to which I give supreme importance. Hence, in this life every moment provides a perfect and foolproof test of your real character, making this life a time of testing and probation.¹²¹²

LDS scripture recounts that God gave Adam and Eve a set of “second commandments” after the Fall, which included a covenant of obedience. This idea recalls a Christian tradition that God made a covenant with Adam—“ere he came out of the garden, [when he was by the tree] whereof Eve took the fruit and gave it him to eat.”¹²¹³ It seems reasonable to suppose that the law of sacrifice, a companion to the law of obedience, was also given to Adam and Eve at this time, before they came to live in the mortal world.¹²¹⁴

Moses 5:1-6 highlights the subsequent obedience of Adam and Eve by enumerating their faithfulness to each of the commandments they had been given. Adam, with his fellow-laborer Eve, began to “till the earth, and to have dominion over all the beasts of the field, and to eat his bread by the sweat of his brow.”¹²¹⁵ Likewise Eve fulfilled the commission she had received in the Garden of Eden and “bare... sons and daughters, and they began to replenish the earth.”¹²¹⁶ Moreover, “Adam was obedient to the commandments of the Lord” in obeying the law of sacrifice and offering “the firstlings of their flocks” for “many days,” despite the fact that he did not yet fully understand the reason why he had been thus commanded.¹²¹⁷



Figure 16-3. *Blind Obedience*, Toulouse, France, 2009

Later, in defiant counterpoint, Satan also came among the children of Adam and Eve demanding their obedience, “and he commanded them, saying: Believe it not; and they believed it not.” From that point on, many of them openly demonstrated that they “loved Satan more than God,” becoming “carnal, sensual, and devilish.”¹²¹⁸

Though, in a general sense, the Fall was the cause of all mankind becoming carnal, sensual, and devilish “by nature,”¹²¹⁹ Moses 5:13 makes it clear that it was only “from that time” when men individually chose to reject the Gospel, demonstrating that they “loved Satan more than God,” that they fully suffered the effects of alienation from God. Such individuals remain “as though there was no redemption made,” “knowing evil from good, subjecting themselves to the devil.”¹²²⁰ On the other hand, those who accept the Atonement of Christ become “free forever, knowing good from evil, to act for themselves and not be acted upon.”¹²²¹

Sacrifice vs. Perversion of Sacrifice

President David O. McKay described the essence of the law of sacrifice as follows:

The first law of mortal life, self-preservation, would claim the most luscious fruit, the most tender meat, the softest down on which to lie. Selfishness, the law of nature would say, “I want the best; that is mine.” But God said: “Take of the firstlings of your herds and of your flocks.”¹²²² The best shall be given to God... Thus should God become the center of our being.¹²²³

The *Lectures on Faith* further explain that:

When a man has offered in sacrifice all that he has for the truth’s sake, not even withholding his life, and believing before God that he has been called to make this sacrifice because he seeks to do his will, he does know, most assuredly, that God does and will accept his sacrifice and offering, and that he has not, nor will not seek his face in vain. Under these circumstances, then, he can obtain the faith necessary for him to lay hold on eternal life.¹²²⁴

Once Adam and Eve had passed their initial test of obedience to the laws they had been given in the Garden of Eden, God, seeing that it was “expedient that man should know concerning the things whereof he had appointed unto them... sent angels to converse with them... and made known unto them the plan of redemption.”¹²²⁵ To Adam was explained that the law of sacrifice “is a similitude of the sacrifice of the Only Begotten of the Father, which is full of grace and truth.”¹²²⁶

Abel followed the pattern of his father in perfect obedience to God and offered a lamb in sacrifice. By way of contrast, Cain, at the command of Satan, “offered the fruit of the ground as a sacrifice, which was not symbolic of Christ’s great act of redemption... Instead of purchasing a lamb or another animal that would serve as an appropriate sacrifice, he offered what he produced.”¹²²⁷ Speaking of the reason Cain’s sacrifice was rejected, the Prophet Joseph Smith explained that “ordinances

must be kept in the very way God has appointed,”¹²²⁸ in this case by “the shedding of blood... [as] a type, by which man was to discern the great Sacrifice which God had prepared.”¹²²⁹



Figure 16-4. Ewe and Lambs, Lakes District, England, 2000

Not only must the form of the ordinance comply with the divine pattern, but also the heart must be filled with the spirit of sincere repentance, since “the shedding of the blood of a beast could be beneficial to no man, except it was ... done with an eye looking forward in faith on the power of that great Sacrifice for a remission of sins.”¹²³⁰ Following the “great and last sacrifice”¹²³¹ of Jesus Christ, no further shedding of blood was required, but only the sacrifice of “a broken heart and a contrite spirit.”¹²³²

The Gospel vs. Works of Darkness

Although in a general sense, “the law of the Gospel embraces all laws, principles, and ordinances necessary for our exaltation,”¹²³³ the interpretive context of the temple specifically brings to mind pointed instructions relating to Christlike behavior toward one’s fellow man. These instructions parallel some of the items prohibited in the community that produced the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, “such as laughing too loudly, gossiping, and immodest dress.”¹²³⁴ D&C 20:54, also bearing on this theme, instructs teachers in the Church that they should watch over members, assuring that there is “neither hardness with each other, neither lying,

backbiting, nor evil speaking.” Likewise, members of the Kirtland School of the Prophets were told: “cease from all your light speeches, from all laughter, from all your lustful desires, from all your pride and light-mindedness, and from all your wicked doings.”¹²³⁵ Thus, as Nibley summarizes, “the law of the Gospel requires self-control in everyday situations,”¹²³⁶ putting “restraints on personal behavior” while “it mandates deportment... to make oneself agreeable to all.”¹²³⁷ Elaborating on these qualities, he wrote:

As to light-mindedness, humor is not light-minded; it is insight into human foibles... What is light-minded is *kitsch*, delight in shallow trivia; and the viewing of serious or tragic events with complacency or indifference. It is light-minded, as Brigham Young often observed, to take seriously and devote one’s interest to modes, styles, fads, and manners of speech and deportment that are passing and trivial, without solid worth or intellectual appeal. As to laughter, Joseph Smith had a hearty laugh that shook his whole frame; but it was a meaningful laugh, a good-humored laugh.¹²³⁸ Loud laughter is the hollow laugh, the bray, the meaningless laugh of the soundtrack or the audience responding to prompting cards, or routinely laughing at every remark made, no matter how banal, in a situation comedy. Note that “idle thoughts and... excess of laughter” go together in D&C 88:69.

As to light speech and speaking evil, my policy is to criticize only when asked to: nothing can be gained otherwise. But politicians are fair game—the Prophet Nathan soundly denounced David though he was “the Lord’s anointed,” but it was for his private and military hanky-panky, thinking only of his own appetites and interests.¹²³⁹ Since nearly all gossip is outside the constructive frame, it qualifies as speaking evil.

As to lustful desires and unholy practices, such need no definition, one would think. Yet historically, the issue is a real one that arises from aberrations and perversions of the endowment among various “Hermetic” societies which, professing higher knowledge from above, resort to witchcraft, necromancy, and divination, with a strong leaning toward sexual license, as sanctioned and even required by their distorted mysteries...¹²⁴⁰

Conforming to the sequence of revealed laws found in other temple texts, the term “Gospel” occurs in the book of Moses only twice—and in neither case does its order of appearance defy our expectation of consistency with the sequence of temple covenants.¹²⁴¹ Moses 5:58 tells of how through Adam’s effort “the *Gospel* began to be preached from the beginning.” Adam and Eve were tutored by holy messengers,¹²⁴² and he and Eve in turn “made all things known unto their sons and daughters.”¹²⁴³ The mention of the Holy Ghost falling upon Adam¹²⁴⁴ carries

with it the implication that he had at that point already received the ordinance of baptism,¹²⁴⁵ something that might have logically occurred soon after the angel's explanation of the meaning of the law of sacrifice.¹²⁴⁶

The ordinance of baptism was followed by additional instruction concerning the plan of salvation given “by holy angels,... and by [God’s] own voice, and by the gift of the Holy Ghost.”¹²⁴⁷ Bestowals of divine knowledge, the making of additional covenants, and the conferral of priesthood power must have surely accompanied these teachings.¹²⁴⁸ “And thus all things were confirmed unto Adam, by an holy ordinance, and the Gospel [was] preached, and a decree [was] sent forth, that it should be in the world, until the end thereof.”¹²⁴⁹



Figure 16-5. Worship, Amsterdam Schipol Airport, 2009

Sadly, scripture records that, despite Adam’s efforts to the contrary, “works of darkness began to prevail among the sons of men.”¹²⁵⁰ Rejecting the covenants, the ordinances, and the universal scope of the brotherhood of the Gospel, they reveled in the exclusive nature of their “secret combination” by whose dark arts “they knew every man his brother,”¹²⁵¹ and they engaged in “wars and bloodshed... seeking for power.”¹²⁵²

Chastity vs. Licentiousness

Nibley writes that this covenant of “self-control”¹²⁵³ places a “restraint on uncontrolled appetites, desires, and passions, for what could be more crippling on the path of eternal progression than those carnal obsessions which completely take over the mind and body?”¹²⁵⁴ Both chastity outside of marriage and fidelity within marriage are required by this covenant,¹²⁵⁵ as Welch explains in the context of Jesus’ Sermon at the Temple:

The new law [in 3 Nephi 12:27-30] imposes a strict prohibition against sexual intercourse outside of marriage and, intensifying the rules that prevailed under the old law, requires purity of heart and denial of these things...

In connection with the law of chastity, Jesus teaches the importance of marriage by superseding the old law of divorcement with the new law of marriage: “It hath been written, that whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. Verily, verily, I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whoso shall marry her who is divorced committeth adultery”¹²⁵⁶... The context of the Sermon at the Temple suggests that this very demanding restriction applies only to husbands and wives who are bound by the eternal covenant relationship involved here. This explains the strictness of the rule completely, for eternal marriages can be dissolved only by proper authority and on justifiable grounds. Until they are so divorced, a couple remains covenantally married.¹²⁵⁷

The law of chastity is not mentioned specifically in the book of Moses, but it does value the paradigm of orderly family lines in contrast to problems engendered by marrying outside the covenant. Moses 6:5–23 describes the ideal family order established by Adam and Eve. A celestial marriage order is also implied in Moses 8:13, where Noah and his righteous sons are mentioned. The patriarchal order of the priesthood “which was in the beginning” and “shall be in the end of the world also”¹²⁵⁸ is depicted as presiding over a worthy succession of generations in the likeness and image of Adam,¹²⁵⁹ just as Adam and Eve were made in the image and likeness of God.¹²⁶⁰

However, in contrast to these “preachers of righteousness,”¹²⁶¹ extracanonical traditions speak of “fornication... spread from the sons of Cain” which, “flamed up” and tell how “in the fashion of beasts they would perform sodomy indiscriminately.”¹²⁶² Both the disregard of God’s law by the granddaughters of Noah who “sold themselves”¹²⁶³ in marriage outside the covenant and the subversion of the established marriage selection process by the “children of men” are summed up by the term “licentiousness” (from Latin *licentia* = “freedom”—in

the negative sense of the word). As for the mismatched wives, Nibley explains that the “daughters who had been initiated into a spiritual order, departed from it and broke their vows, mingling with those who observed only a carnal law.”¹²⁶⁴ Additionally, the so-called “sons of God”¹²⁶⁵ (a self-designation made in sarcasm by way of counterpoint to Noah’s description of them as the “children of men” in the preceding verse) were under condemnation. Though the Hebrew expression that equates to “took them wives”¹²⁶⁶ is the normal one for legal marriage, the words “even as they chose” (or, in Westermann’s translation, “just as their fancy chose”¹²⁶⁷) would not have been as innocuous to ancient readers as they seem to modern ones. The choice of a mate is portrayed as a process of eyeing the “many beauties who take [one’s] fancy” rather than “discovery of a counterpart, which leads to living as one in marriage.”¹²⁶⁸ The Hebrew expression underlying the phrase “the sons of men saw that those daughters were fair” deliberately parallels the temptation in Eden: “the woman saw that the tree ... became pleasant to the eyes.”¹²⁶⁹ The words describe a strong intensity of desire fueled by appetite — which Alter renders in his translation as “lust to the eyes.”¹²⁷⁰ In both cases, God’s law is subordinated to the appeal of the senses.¹²⁷¹

Draper et al. observe that the words “eating and drinking, and marrying and giving in marriage” “convey a sense of both normalcy and prosperity,”¹²⁷² conditions of the mindset of the worldly in the time of Noah that Jesus said would recur in the last days.¹²⁷³ The wining, dining, courtships, and weddings will continue right up to the great cataclysm of the Flood “while superficially all seems well. To the unobservant, it’s party time.”¹²⁷⁴

Consecration vs. Corruption and Violence

President Ezra Taft Benson has described the law of consecration as being “that we consecrate our time, talents, strength, property, and money for the upbuilding of the kingdom of God on this earth and the establishment of Zion.”¹²⁷⁵ He notes that all the covenants made up to this point are preparatory, explaining that: “Until one abides by the laws of obedience, sacrifice, the gospel, and chastity, he cannot abide the law of consecration, which is the law pertaining to the celestial kingdom.”¹²⁷⁶ Nibley similarly affirms that this law is “the consummation of the laws of obedience and sacrifice, is the threshold of the celestial kingdom, the last and hardest requirement made of men in this life”¹²⁷⁷ and “can only be faced against sore temptation.”¹²⁷⁸ In compensation for this supreme effort, President Harold B. Lee avers that to the “individual who thus is willing to consecrate himself, [will come] the greatest joy that can come to the human soul.”¹²⁷⁹ Consecration is, as Welch affirms, the step that precedes perfection.¹²⁸⁰

Moses 7 describes how Enoch succeeded in bringing a whole people to be sufficiently “pure in heart”¹²⁸¹ to fully live the law of consecration. In Zion, the “City of Holiness,”¹²⁸² the people “were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them.”¹²⁸³ Moreover, it can be safely presumed that, as with the Nephites following the visit of Christ:

There were no contentions and disputations among them, and every man did deal justly one with another. And they had all things in common among them; therefore, there were no rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free, and partakers of the heavenly gift.¹²⁸⁴

Note that this ideal of economic reform is not based merely on the idea of fair division of property, but rather on the higher principle “that everything we have belongs to the Lord; therefore, the Lord may call upon us for any and all of the property which we have, because it belongs to Him.”¹²⁸⁵

Just as the life of Enoch can be regarded as a type of the spirit of consecration, so Lamech, who also lived in the seventh generation from Adam, serves as a scriptural example of its antitype. While Enoch and his people covenanted with the Lord to form an order of righteousness to ensure that there would be “no poor among them,”¹²⁸⁶ Lamech, along with others members of his “secret combination,” “entered into a covenant with Satan” to enable the unchecked growth of his predatory order.¹²⁸⁷ Lamech’s “secret works” contributed to the rapid erosion of the unity of the human family, culminating in a terrifying chaos where “a man’s hand was against his own brother, in administering death” and “seeking for power.”¹²⁸⁸

The meanings of the terms “corruption” and “violence,” as used by God to describe the state of the earth in Moses 8:28, are instructive. The core idea of being “corrupt” (Hebrew *sahath*) in all its occurrences the story of Noah is that of being “ruined” or “spoiled”¹²⁸⁹—in other words completely beyond redemption. Like the recalcitrant clay in the hands of the potter of Jeremiah 18:3-4, the people could no longer be formed to good use. The Hebrew term *hamas* (violence) corresponds to synonyms such as “‘falsehood,’ ‘deceit,’ or ‘bloodshed.’ It means, in general, the flagrant subversion of the ordered processes of law.”¹²⁹⁰ We are presented with a picture of humankind, unredeemable and lawless, generating an ever-increasing legacy of ruin and anarchy. This description is in stark contrast to the just conduct of Noah.¹²⁹¹

In a striking echo of Moses 7:48, we are told in ancient sources that “[e]ven the earth complained and uttered lamentations.”¹²⁹² To Enoch, the Lord sorrowed:

Behold these thy brethren; they are the workmanship of mine own hands... And... I [have] said... that they should love one another, and that they should choose me, their Father; but behold, they are without affection, and they hate their own blood... and among all the workmanship of my hands there has not been so great wickedness as among thy brethren... wherefore should not the heavens weep, seeing these shall suffer?¹²⁹³

Having witnessed the culmination of these bloody scenes of corruption and violence, God concluded to “destroy all flesh from off the earth.”¹²⁹⁴ Like the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, the wicked at last “were destroyed, because it was better for them to die, and thus be deprived of their agency, which they abused, than entail so much misery on their posterity, and bring ruin upon millions of unborn persons.”¹²⁹⁵ Thus, the successive breaking of each of the covenants triggered the same sort of three-strikes-and-you’re-out consequence that David Noel Freedman described in his analysis of the one-by-one breaking of each of the Ten Commandments in the Primary History of the Old Testament.

The promise of being “received... into [God’s] own bosom”¹²⁹⁶ like Enoch and his people is extended to all those who, through the cleansing power of the atonement “after all [they] can do,”¹²⁹⁷ prepare themselves to receive it.¹²⁹⁸ “For this is Zion—the pure in heart”¹²⁹⁹—and we are specifically told that the reward of the pure in heart is that they shall “see God.”¹³⁰⁰

Therefore, sanctify yourselves that your minds become single to God, and the days will come that you shall see him; for he will unveil his face unto you, and it shall be in his own time, and in his own way, and according to his own will. Remember the great and last promise which I have made unto you.¹³⁰¹

The supreme qualification signaling readiness for this crowning blessing is charity, what Nibley calls the “essence of the law of consecration..., without which, as Paul and Moroni tell us, all the other laws and observances become null and void.”¹³⁰² Love is not selective, and charity knows no bounds.¹³⁰³ Thus “if I expect anything in return for charity except the happiness of the recipient, then it is not charity.”¹³⁰⁴ For in charity, Nibley continues, “there is no bookkeeping, no *quid pro quo*, no deals, interests, bargaining, or ulterior motives; charity gives to those who do not deserve and expects nothing in return; it is the love God has for us, and the love we have for little children, of whom we expect nothing but for whom we would give everything.”¹³⁰⁵

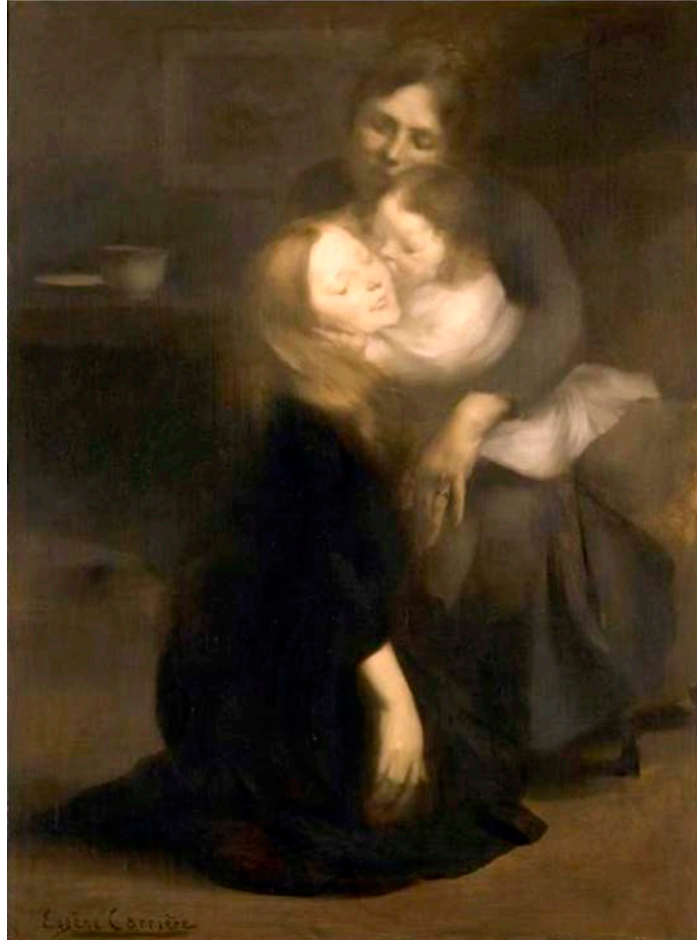


Figure 16-6. Eugène Carrière, 1849-1906: *Intimacy, or The Big Sister*, ca. 1889

Conclusions

The five celestial laws are impressively laid out for us in the text of Moses 5-8. The stories interwoven with these laws make it absolutely clear what kind of results can be expected for individuals and societies as they keep or break divine covenants.

Remarkably, these laws, along with the “offices of Peter, James, and John”¹³⁰⁶ through which they have always been given, were described in revelations to the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1830, more than a decade before the complete endowment was administered by him to others in Nauvoo.

Appendix: Questions About Genesis and the Book of Moses

What Is the Book of Moses?

As a starting point, it is essential to understand that the book of Moses is an extract from the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible (JST).¹³⁰⁷ In the JST, a high priority of time and attention was specifically accorded to the translation of Genesis 1-24. For example, a close look at the number of verses modified in the translation process reveals that more than half of the changed verses in the JST Old Testament and 20% of those in the entire JST Bible are contained in Moses 1 and Genesis. As a proportion of page count, changes in Genesis occur four times more frequently than in the New Testament, and twenty-one times more frequently than in the rest of the Old Testament. The changes in Genesis are not only more numerous, but also more significant in the degree of doctrinal and historical expansion. Looking at it from the perspective of translation *time* rather than the number of revised verses, the same picture holds. By mid-1833, three years after the process of translation started, Joseph Smith felt the JST was sufficiently complete that preparations for publication could begin.

From the perspective of the known durations of periods when each part of the translation was completed, the first 24 chapters of Genesis occupy nearly a quarter of the total time for the entire Bible. Though we cannot know how much of Joseph Smith's daily schedule the translation occupied during each of its phases, it is obvious that Genesis 1-24, the first 1% of the Bible, must have received a significantly more generous share of the Prophet's time and attention than did the remaining 99%.¹³⁰⁸

During the process of translation, Joseph Smith made several types of changes. These changes ranged from "long revealed additions that have little or no biblical parallel, such as the visions of Moses and Enoch" and the passage on Melchizedek, to "common-sense" changes and interpretive additions, to "grammatical improvements, technical clarifications, and modernization of terms" — the latter being the most common type of change.¹³⁰⁹ Of course, even in the case of passages that seem to be explicitly revelatory, it remained to the Prophet to exercise considerable personal effort in rendering these experiences into words.¹³¹⁰ As Kathleen Flake puts it, Joseph Smith did not see himself as "God's stenographer. Rather, he was an interpreting reader, and God the confirming authority."¹³¹¹

Does the JST Restore the Original Text of Genesis?

LDS teachings and scripture clearly imply that Moses learned of the Creation and the Fall in vision and was told to write it. Moreover, there are revelatory passages

in the book of Moses that have remarkable congruencies with ancient texts. However, I think it fruitless to rely on JST Genesis as a means for uncovering a Moses *urtext*. Even if, for example, the longer, revelatory passages of chapters 1, 6, and 7 of the book of Moses were found to be direct translations of ancient documents it is impossible to establish whether or not they once existed as an actual part of some sort of “original” manuscript of Genesis.

Mormons understand that the primary intent of modern revelation is for divine guidance to latter-day readers, not to provide precise matches to texts from other times. Because this is so, we would expect, rather, to find deliberate deviations from the content and wording of ancient manuscripts in Joseph Smith’s translations in the interest of clarity and relevance to modern readers. As one LDS apostle expressed it, “the Holy Spirit does not quote the Scriptures, but gives Scripture.”¹³¹² If we keep this perspective in mind, we will be less surprised with the appearance here and there of New Testament terms such as “Jesus Christ” in Joseph Smith’s chapters on Enoch when the title “the Son of Man” would be more in line with ancient Enoch texts.¹³¹³

Was the Pentateuch, As We Have It, Authored Entirely by Moses?

An impressive array of evidences for the seeming heterogeneity of sources within the first five books of the Bible have converged to form the basis of the Documentary Hypothesis, a broad scholarly consensus whose most able current popular expositor has been Richard Friedman.¹³¹⁴ However, even those who find the Documentary Hypothesis—or some variant of it—compelling have good reason to admire the resulting literary product on its own terms. For example, in the case of the two Creation chapters, Friedman himself writes that in the scriptural version of Genesis we have a text “that is greater than the sum of its parts.”¹³¹⁵ Sailhamer aptly summarizes the situation when he writes that “Genesis is characterized by both an easily discernible unity and a noticeable lack of uniformity.”¹³¹⁶

To date, most LDS commentaries have treated the Bible primarily from a canonical perspective. In other words they have focused on interpreting the Bible as a finished product, largely ignoring the important but rather complex questions about how primary sources may have been authored and combined to form the scriptural text as we have it today. By writing a series of volumes on the authorship of the Old Testament, LDS scholar David E. Bokovoy intends to rectify this deficiency, bringing the results of scholarship in higher criticism into greater visibility within the LDS community.¹³¹⁷ By applying his considerable expertise to the problem of making the issues and results of higher criticism available to non-specialists and tailoring his findings to an LDS readership,

Bokovoy helps readers understand how those who accept Joseph Smith as a prophet of God can derive valuable interpretive lessons from modern scholarship. Although our conclusions and approaches differ on specific issues (especially his characterization of the book of Moses as “inspired pseudepigrapha” — more on this below), I feel a commonality his sympathy for all those who seek to love and understand scripture “by study and also by faith.”¹³¹⁸

The idea that a series of individuals may have had a hand in the authorship and redaction of Genesis should not be foreign to readers of the Book of Mormon, where inspired editors have explicitly revealed the process by which they wove separate overlapping records into the finished scriptural narrative. The authors and editors of the Book of Mormon knew that the account was preserved not only for the people of their own times, but also for future generations,¹³¹⁹ including our own.¹³²⁰

With this understanding in mind, it should be apparent to LDS readers that events such as the story of the Flood, in the form we have it today, might be read not only as an actual occurrence but also “as a kind of parable”¹³²¹ — its account of the historical events shaped with specific pedagogical purposes in mind. “If this is so,” writes Blenkinsopp, “it would be only one of several examples in P [one of the presumed sources of the Genesis account] of a paradigmatic interpretation of events recorded in the earlier sources with reference to the contemporary situation.”¹³²² More simply put, Nephi plainly declared: “I did liken all scriptures unto us, that it might be for our profit and learning.”¹³²³ Indeed, Nephi left us with significant examples where he deliberately shaped his explanation of Bible stories and teachings in order to help his hearers understand how they applied to their own situation.¹³²⁴

Of course, in contrast to the carefully controlled prophetic redaction of the Book of Mormon, we do not know how much of the editing of the Old Testament may have taken place with less inspiration and authority.¹³²⁵ Joseph Smith wrote: “I believe the Bible as it read when it came from the pen of the original writers. Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors.”¹³²⁶

Scholarly conversation on the Documentary Hypothesis and other important issues in higher criticism is, of course, ongoing. Although broad agreement persists on many issues, the state of research on the composition of the Pentateuch continues to evolve in important ways. In 2012, Konrad Schmid gave the following assessment:¹³²⁷

Pentateuchal scholarship has changed dramatically in the last three decades, at least when seen in a global perspective. The confidence of earlier

assumptions about the formation of the Pentateuch no longer exists, a situation that might be lamented but that also opens up new and — at least in the view of some scholars — potentially more adequate paths to understand its composition. One of the main results of the new situation is that neither traditional nor newer theories can be taken as the accepted starting point of analysis; rather, they are, at most, possible ends.

That said, there is little doubt that the basic ideas of source criticism behind the Documentary Hypothesis are here to stay.

Are the Characters and Events of the Old Testament Historical?

In answering this question, we should consider the fact that Joseph Smith has left accounts of personal visions and manifestations that include many prominent characters of the Book of Mormon¹³²⁸ and the Bible.¹³²⁹ Of course, when determining whether the “people and events portrayed in narrative about the real past are fictional or literary constructs,” our decisions “must be driven by our best assessments of what the biblical narrator intended ... We may still find reason to discuss whether the author of Job intends every part of the book to represent real events in a real past or whether it is literature built around a historical core. The point is that any conclusion that seeks to maintain authority will conform to the demonstrable intentions of the narrator.”¹³³⁰ So far as I have been able to determine, in the case of modern scripture, named figures from ancient times are consistently represented as historical individuals.

The idea that scriptural figures may sometimes be more accurately regarded as the *authorities* rather than the direct authors or scribes for biblical books associated with their names is not inconsistent, in my view, with LDS acceptance of the Bible as scripture “as far as it is translated [and transmitted] correctly.”¹³³¹ Though I have no quarrel with the idea that the Old Testament, as we have it, might have been compiled at a relatively late date from many sources of varying perspectives and levels of inspiration, I accept that its major figures were historical and that the sources may go back to authentic traditions (whether oral or written), associated with these figures as authorities. John Walton and D. Brent Sandy express their views of this process as follows:¹³³²

Authority is not dependent on an original autograph or on an *author* writing a *book*. Recognition of authority is identifiable in the beliefs of a community of faith (of whom we are heirs) that God’s communications through authoritative figures and traditions have been captured and preserved through a long process of transmission and composition in the literature that has come to be accepted as canonical. That authority can be well represented

in translation, though it can be undermined to the extent that interpretation (necessary for a translation to take place) misrepresents the authority

Documents used in the compilation of Genesis are likely identified in the text itself (in eleven occurrences of “This is the account of ...”). No identification of the source of the traditions represented in the individual documents is offered, and this is not unusual. Documents such as those found in the first part of the book (Genesis 1-11) as well as those in the second part (Genesis 12-50) would correspond well, if only generally, to the sort that would be familiar in the ancient world. Likewise no indication is given in the book itself of the time or circumstances under which these documents were compiled into the book as we know it. Earliest tradition associated the work with Moses, and given the stature of Moses that is not unreasonable, but we need not decide the matter. As discussed above, his role is best understood as tradent [i.e., transmitter of traditions], not likely that of actually generating the traditions (though he may have generated some of them — we particularly think of the creation accounts in this regard) ... Compilation of those documents into the complex literary work we call Genesis may not have happened for many centuries, though the traditions would have been well known.¹³³³

These views about the authorship of the Old Testament are consistent with the increasing recognition of the importance of the role of oral transmission in the preservation of religious traditions that were later normalized by scribes — both with respect to the Bible¹³³⁴ and the Book of Mormon.¹³³⁵ It should also be noted that vestiges of otherwise lost oral traditions¹³³⁶ are sometimes included in extracanonical texts.¹³³⁷ Significantly, such writings rarely if ever constitute de novo accounts. Rather, they tend to incorporate diverse traditions of varying value and antiquity in ways that make difficult the teasing out of the contribution that each makes to the whole.¹³³⁸ As a result, even relatively late documents rife with midrashic speculations unattested elsewhere,¹³³⁹ unique Islamic assertions,¹³⁴⁰ or seemingly fantastic Christian interpolations¹³⁴¹ may sometimes preserve fragments of authentically inspired principles, history, or doctrine, or may otherwise bear witness of legitimate exegetically derived¹³⁴² or ritually transmitted¹³⁴³ realities.

In trying to imagine more concretely how authority and authorship may have come together in the writing of prophetic teachings and revelations that may have originated, in part, in oral sources, we have modern day analogs. Consider, for example, the fact that Joseph Smith’s Nauvoo sermons were neither written out in advance nor taken down by listeners verbatim as they were delivered. Rather, they were copied as notes and reconstructions of his prose (sometimes retrospectively)

by a small number of individuals, generally including an official scribe.¹³⁴⁴ These notes were in turn shared and copied by others.¹³⁴⁵ Later, as part of serialized versions of history that appeared in church publications, many (but not all) of the notes from such sermons were expanded, amalgamated, and harmonized; prose was smoothed out; and punctuation and grammar were standardized. Sometimes the wording of related journal entries from scribes and others was changed to the first person and incorporated into the *Documentary History of the Church*¹³⁴⁶ in order to fill in gaps, an accepted practice at the time.¹³⁴⁷

Over the years, various compilations drew directly from these published accounts¹³⁴⁸ while, more recently, transcriptions of contemporary notes (including sources that were unavailable to historians who produced the standard amalgamated versions) were also collected and published.¹³⁴⁹ Translations of these accounts into different languages sometimes created new difficulties.¹³⁵⁰ The important point in all this is that while each of these published accounts of the Prophet's Nauvoo sermons has been widely used to convey his teachings to church members on his authority, it is likely that none of these accounts was written or reviewed by him personally.¹³⁵¹ Moreover, less than two hundred years after these sermons were delivered, multiple variants in their content and wording — none of which completely reflect the actual words spoken — are in common circulation. In some cases, imperfect transcriptions of Joseph Smith's words led to misconstruals of doctrine by early Church leaders and, in consequence, have been explicitly corrected by later Church leaders. One need look no further than the March 2014 edition of the *Ensign* for an apostolic correction of this sort.¹³⁵²

What this example is intended to show is how easily divergence in written records can happen, even in the best case where like-minded “scribes,” recording events as they occurred, are doing the best they can to preserve the original words of a prophet. This phenomenon also helps explain the great lengths that Joseph Smith went to in order to preserve an accurate written record of the doings of his day.

Can the Book of Moses Be Characterized as “Inspired Pseudepigrapha”?

In a discussion on Bible authorship, it is appropriate to introduce another class of ancient writings known today as pseudepigrapha. James Charlesworth notes that the term “pseudepigrapha” (literally “with false superscription”¹³⁵³) has a “long and distinguished history,”¹³⁵⁴ with changes in the way it has been applied to various writings over the years that mirror major shifts in the general field of biblical studies itself.¹³⁵⁵ David Bokovoy defines pseudepigrapha as: “a revised version of ... documentary sources as revelations dictated by earlier prophetic figures.”¹³⁵⁶ This is similar in spirit to the definition in the *American Heritage Dictionary*, namely “spurious or pseudonymous writings, especially Jewish

writings ascribed to various biblical patriarchs and prophets.”¹³⁵⁷ Importantly, however, the tenor of these definitions would seem to exclude the following situation:¹³⁵⁸

For example, if the sixth-century Daniel¹³⁵⁹ was the authority figure who gave oracles that were duly recorded in documents that were saved until the second century, when someone compiled them into the book we have now and perhaps even included some updated or more specific information (provided by recognized authority figures in that time), that would not constitute pseudepigraphy or false attribution.¹³⁶⁰ If that sort of process was an accepted norm, the attribution claims are not as specific and comprehensive as we may have thought when we were using more modern models of literary production. Authority is not jeopardized as long as we affirm the claims that the text is actually making using models of understanding that reflect the ancient world.

Considerable diversity of opinions regarding the specific revelatory process by which Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon and works attributed to Moses and Abraham is accommodated among Mormon scholars.¹³⁶¹ However, some of David Bokovoy’s conclusions about the translation process of the books of Moses and Abraham may be difficult for many readers to accept. Bokovoy argues that these works of scripture should be characterized as inspired pseudepigrapha¹³⁶² — in other words, that these books, though affirmed as containing divine truths, are falsely attributed to those two prophets. Putting it another way, this argument attempts to make the case that the content of these two books is not ultimately derived from the experiences and teachings of Moses and Abraham, but rather that they consist of descriptions of what Joseph Smith believed these prophets *would* have written if given the chance.¹³⁶³ For example, as applied to Joseph Smith’s translation of the Bible, Bokovoy argues that:¹³⁶⁴

the issue of the book of Moses’ status as inspired scripture can be seen as independent from the question of its historicity as the literal words of the Bible. To quote LDS scholar Phillip Barlow, “If certain truths were not originally included in the Bible, they are truths nonetheless and readers will be edified by studying them; it is not the text of the Bible as such, but rather the truths of God that are sacred.”¹³⁶⁵ To this might be added, if ancient prophets did not originally write certain truths within scripture, they are truths nonetheless, and studying them will edify readers. Though the attributed author may serve as a conduit by conceptually bridging dispensations together, it is not the author of the text but rather the truths of God that are sacred.

With respect to the book of Moses, Bokovoy makes the case that casting a fully modern source as an ancient text fulfilled a significant rhetorical function: “The book of Moses not only defends the inspired nature of Genesis’s prehistory, it elevates the text to a revelatory status by using the biblical prophet Moses as a conduit for Joseph’s own revelations that corrected the Bible.”¹³⁶⁶ This is consistent with the view of Christopher C. Smith,¹³⁶⁷ who takes the textual history of Joseph Smith’s United Firm revelations¹³⁶⁸ as an instance of “inspired fictionalization” within the Prophet’s revelations, intentionally used “in order to [make them] sound like ancient texts.”¹³⁶⁹ However, the analog between the United Firm revelations and the book of Moses is not convincing. There seems to be no compelling reason why the revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants would have needed the kind of additional legitimization that Bokovoy claims was the motivation for a deliberate archaizing of the book of Moses text. This is especially true since the principals named in the United Firm manuscripts knew of the original wording of the revelations and doubtless were aware of the changes made at the time of their publication. In my view, the practical need for discretion in light of potential anti-Mormon opposition specifically mentioned by Orson Pratt,¹³⁷⁰ an intimate of the Prophet who witnessed the events relating to the modifications to these revelations firsthand, sufficiently justifies the later efforts made to obfuscate the contemporary setting of the revelations.

Another difficulty with a description of the book of Moses as an inspired pseudepigraphon is that tends to paint LDS readers into discrete camps. As a label, the term “pseudepigrapha” has an all-or-nothing feel. For that reason, it fails to capture a more nuanced view that could allow for the possibility of not only significant *theological* connections with ancient Israel — a position explicitly adopted by Bokovoy — but also authentic *historical* material reflecting memories of events in the lives of Moses and Abraham embedded in the text that Joseph Smith produced (even though he produced it in the nineteenth century). The result of this oversimplification is a sort of caricature that doesn’t fit well with relevant LDS scholarship on these books.

As scholars have observed,¹³⁷¹ the Prophet’s Bible translation in general, and the book of Moses in particular, is not a homogeneous production. Rather, it is composite in structure and eclectic in its manner of translation: some chapters contain long sections that have little or no direct relationship to the text of Genesis (i.e., the vision of Moses and the story of Enoch), while other chapters are more in the line of clarifying commentary that takes the text of the King James Version as its starting point, incorporating new elements based on Joseph Smith’s prophetic understanding.¹³⁷² Classing the entire book of Moses with a single label obscures the complex nature of the translation process and the work that resulted from it,¹³⁷³ just as study of the Bible without taking into account its multiple

sources obscures its richness. I will have more to say about the translation and composition of the book of Moses below.

Of course, what is most at stake here in the use of the label pseudepigrapha to describe the book of Moses is authority. While the term “pseudepigrapha” may be a useful construct for textual studies, it doesn't work as well for the characterization of scripture, where the question of authority is far more significant. Latter-day Saints recognize authority in works of modern scripture because they were produced by a modern prophet, without having to establish a priori that they connect in some fashion to authorities from ancient times. This important point is eloquently argued by Bokovoy.¹³⁷⁴

In his volume on the translation of the Book of Mormon, Brant Gardner summarizes a perspective that bounds his views of the conceptual distance between plate text and its English translation. The ideas expressed are also relevant to Joseph Smith's production of the book of Moses:¹³⁷⁵

The most extreme version of a conceptual theory of translation would make the plates extremely remote and essentially unrelated to the English text. It might even suggest that it was not really a translation, but simply a story based on real events.

The danger of that slippery slope is apparent in the way [Elder John A.] Widtsoe applied the brakes by declaring Joseph's text “far beyond” his normal capabilities. That same desire to set the brakes while accepting some distance between the plate text and the translation can be seen in Robert Millet's description of the process:¹³⁷⁶

We need not jump to interpretive extremes because the language found in the Book of Mormon (including that from the Isaiah sections or the Savior's sermon in 3 Nephi) reflects Joseph Smith's language. Well, of course it does! The Book of Mormon is translation literature: practically every word in the book is from the English language. For Joseph Smith to use the English language with which he and the people of his day were familiar in recording the translation is historically consistent. On the other hand, to create the doctrine (or to place it in the mouths of Lehi or Benjamin or Abinadi) is unacceptable. The latter is tantamount to deceit and misrepresentation; it is, as we have said, to claim that the doctrines and principles are of ancient date (which the record itself declares) when, in fact, they are a fabrication (albeit an “inspired” fabrication) of a nineteenth-century man. I feel we have every reason to believe that the Book of Mormon came through Joseph Smith, not from him. Because

certain theological matters were discussed in the nineteenth century does not preclude their revelation or discussion in antiquity.

It should be made clear that Bokovoy explicitly rejects the idea that the Prophet was a conscious deceiver in presenting the books of Moses and Abraham as ancient works. For example, with respect to the book of Abraham, he concludes that while “Joseph believed he was producing a literal translation,” we “should not assume ... that the Prophet fully understood the revelatory process in which he was engaged.”¹³⁷⁷ Likewise, in his apparent leaning to an understanding of the Book of Mormon as an expanded modern redaction of an ancient core source,¹³⁷⁸ it is concluded from a statement of the Prophet where he refrained from relating the details of translation¹³⁷⁹ that “Joseph himself most likely did not understand the exact manner by which he translated the Book of Mormon.”¹³⁸⁰ However, others have argued — more plausibly in my view — that Joseph Smith was reluctant to share specific details of these events, not because he failed to understand them,¹³⁸¹ but rather because of his respect for their sacred nature.¹³⁸²

Are There Reasons to Believe that Moses 1 Has Some Basis in Antiquity?

With respect to Moses 1, a long passage that is not rooted directly in the text of the Bible, the outline of events in Moses 1 fits squarely in the tradition of ancient “heavenly ascent” literature and its relationship to temple theology, rites, and ordinances.¹³⁸³ It is significant that this account, along with the rest of the book of Moses, was revealed to Joseph Smith more than a decade before the full temple endowment was administered to others in Nauvoo.¹³⁸⁴

Although stories of heavenly ascent bear important similarities to temple practices, they make the claim of being something more. While ancient temple rituals dramatically depict a figurative journey into the presence of God, the ascent literature tells the stories of prophets who experience actual encounters with Deity within the *heavenly* temple — the “completion or fulfillment” of the “types and images” in earthly priesthood ordinances.¹³⁸⁵ In such encounters, the prophet may experience a vision of eternity, participation in worship with the angels, and the conferral of certain blessings that are “made sure” by the voice of God Himself.¹³⁸⁶

Building on the earlier work of Jared Ludlow¹³⁸⁷ and Hugh Nibley,¹³⁸⁸ David Larsen and I have explored significant resemblances between the first chapter of the book of Moses and the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (hereafter AA).¹³⁸⁹ The major structural and conceptual resemblances include a spirit world prologue, a fall to earth, the details of the protagonist’s personal encounter with Satan, and a journey of heavenly ascent. Many additional resemblances in detail accompany these parallels in larger structural features, of which I will give a few examples.¹³⁹⁰

In both accounts, the prologue to the prophet's heavenly ascent features a setting on a high mountain¹³⁹¹ and an aretology.¹³⁹² A scene of sacrifice is explicitly described in AA¹³⁹³ and may be reasonably inferred in the book of Moses.¹³⁹⁴ In a spirit world scene, the prophet is commissioned¹³⁹⁵ and told that he will be shown a vision of eternity.¹³⁹⁶

Then, in a scene that was important enough to the editors of the Sylvester Codex to associate with a specific illustration, we are told that the prophet "fell down upon the earth, for there was no longer strength in me."¹³⁹⁷ Similarly, "Moses ... fell unto the earth ... And ... it was for the space of many hours before Moses did ... receive his natural strength."¹³⁹⁸

Satan then appears, disrupting the scene and commanding worship.¹³⁹⁹ The prophet questions Satan's identity,¹⁴⁰⁰ and his own godlike status is contrasted with that of his adversary.¹⁴⁰¹ Satan is reprimanded for his deceit and told to depart for the first time.¹⁴⁰² The prophet is reminded by God of the difference between his status and that of Satan.¹⁴⁰³ Satan is commanded to depart a second time.¹⁴⁰⁴ Satan makes a final, vain attempt to gain the worship of the prophet.¹⁴⁰⁵ In the book of Moses, this is followed by a description of Satan's frightening tantrum and final departure¹⁴⁰⁶ that is paralleled in an Enoch account.¹⁴⁰⁷

After the departure of Satan, Moses calls upon God.¹⁴⁰⁸ I understand the reference of where Moses "lifted his eyes unto heaven" in v. 24 as an allusion to the process of heavenly ascent, following the interpretive lead given by AA ("the angel took me with his right hand and set me on the right wing of the pigeon ... and carried me up"¹⁴⁰⁹). The imagery in AA resembles that given by Nephi to describe a similar experience ("upon the wings of his Spirit hath my body been carried away"¹⁴¹⁰). Although Moses had previously seen God, he now is shut out by the heavenly veil, hearing only God's voice.¹⁴¹¹

In Moses 1:27, we are told: "And it came to pass, as the voice was still speaking, Moses cast his eyes and beheld the earth." Remarkably, the book of Moses phrase "as the voice was still speaking" parallels a nearly identical phrase — "And while he [the angel] was still speaking"— in AA.¹⁴¹² In both cases, the phrase might make sense as a stock expression having to do with an exchange of words as one is preparing to pass from one side of the heavenly veil to the other.¹⁴¹³ This idea is suggested in AA by the fact that the phrase immediately precedes Abraham's recitation of certain words taught to him by the angel in preparation for his ascent to receive a vision of the work of God. In such accounts, once a person has been thoroughly tested, the "last phrase" of welcome is extended to him: "Let him come up!"¹⁴¹⁴ Significantly, following Abraham's ascent, when he passes back through

the heavenly veil in the opposite direction on his return to the earth, the expression “And while he was still speaking” recurs.¹⁴¹⁵

The change in perspective as Moses passes upward through the heavenly veil is related in subtle beauty in the book of Moses. Previously, as he stood on the earth, Moses had “lifted up his eyes unto heaven.”¹⁴¹⁶ Now, after ascending to heaven, he “cast his eyes” down to see the earth and all of its inhabitants.¹⁴¹⁷ Similarly, in AA the prophet is told: “Look now beneath your feet at the expanse and contemplate the creation and those who inhabit it.”¹⁴¹⁸

Moses’ vision is perfectly in line with ancient accounts that speak of a “blueprint” of eternity that is worked out in advance and shown on the inside of the heavenly veil.¹⁴¹⁹ “Those who passed beyond the veil found themselves outside time. When Rabbi Ishmael ascended and looked back he saw the curtain on which was depicted past, present and future. ‘All generations to the end of time were printed on the curtain of the Omnipresent One. I saw them all with my own eyes’...¹⁴²⁰ [Similarly,] Enoch was taken up by three angels and set up on a high place whence he saw all history, past, present and future.”¹⁴²¹

Moses witnessed its entire history from beginning to end like Adam, Enoch, the Brother of Jared, John the Beloved, and others.¹⁴²² Moroni taught that those with perfect faith cannot be “kept from within the veil” (i.e., cannot be kept from passing through the veil¹⁴²³)—meaning the heavenly veil behind which God dwells, whose earthly counterpart is the temple veil that divides the holy place from the holy of holies.¹⁴²⁴ Seeing all this, Moses asks “Tell me, I pray thee, why these things are so...?”¹⁴²⁵ Likewise in AA, Abraham asks, “Eternal, Mighty One! Why did you ordain it to be so?”¹⁴²⁶

At this point, we observe a significant difference between the book of Moses and AA. On the one hand, Moses will receive a partial answer to his question about “by what” God made these things through a vision of the Creation.¹⁴²⁷ He will also be told something about “why these things are so.”¹⁴²⁸ On the other hand, in AA, the dialogue between Abraham and the Lord centers, not on the creation and purpose of the universe, but rather on recent events of local concern, including the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, and the future of Israel.¹⁴²⁹ This seems just the kind of material that a first- or second-century redactor might have included.¹⁴³⁰

Following his experience at the heavenly veil, Moses enters the presence of God. The granting of the privilege to Moses of *seeing* God is paralleled both in Old Testament accounts such as Isaiah and Ezekiel, and in pseudepigraphal writings such as *1 Enoch*. In a second major difference with the book of Moses, however, AA explicitly rejects any visualization of God, and insists on the “revelation of the

divine Voice” alone.¹⁴³¹ AA seems to be insisting on a theological point when he has Yahoel tell Abraham: “the Eternal One... himself you will *not* see.”¹⁴³²

Just as Moses is then shown the events of the Creation and the Fall,¹⁴³³ AA describes how the great patriarch looked down to see the affairs of what is called in modern revelation the “kingdoms of a lower order.”¹⁴³⁴ The Lord’s voice commanded Abraham to “look,” and a series of heavenly veils were opened beneath his feet.¹⁴³⁵ Like Moses, Abraham is shown the heavenly plan for creation—“the creation that was depicted of old¹⁴³⁶ on this expanse” (21:1¹⁴³⁷), its realization on the earth (21:3-5), the Garden of Eden (21:6), and the spirits of all men with certain ones “prepared to be born of [Abraham] and to be called [God’s] people (21:7-22:5)”¹⁴³⁸ When Abraham is told again to “Look... at the picture,” he sees Satan inciting the Fall of Adam and Eve (23:1-14),¹⁴³⁹ just as Moses saw these events following his own heavenly ascent.¹⁴⁴⁰

From his own study of affinities between the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and modern scripture, Hugh Nibley concluded: “These parallel accounts, separated by centuries, cannot be coincidence. Nor can all the others.”¹⁴⁴¹

While most scholars assign a late date to the composition of the original Hebrew or Aramaic text of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (i.e., within a few decades of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE), the discovery of this and similar texts commends caution in foreclosing the possibility that elements in the first chapter of the book of Moses may preserve authentic ancient traditions associated with Mosaic authority, preserved in manuscripts of a similar nature.

Another possibility, of course, is that the experience of Moses in chapter 1 was never put to writing until it was revealed by God to Joseph Smith. Such an idea would not be inconsistent with the prologue in Moses 1:1, which reads: “The words of God, which he spake unto Moses.”¹⁴⁴² As David Bokovoy observes:¹⁴⁴³ “Moses 1 constantly invokes the voice of an omniscient narrator speaking about Moses in the third person ... This pattern stands in stark contrast to the first-person biographical formulation of Joseph’s subsequent scriptural text, the book of Abraham. Hence, when read critically, the text itself does not view Moses as its author.”

There is much additional work to be done to bring our understanding of the translation process of the book of Moses to a level approaching our current, more extensive knowledge about the translation of the Book of Mormon.¹⁴⁴⁴ What is important for the present discussion is to know that, whether or not Moses himself recorded his vision in writing, there are reasonable possibilities other than concluding that the account in Moses 1 is a simple pseudepigraphic retrojection of Joseph Smith onto the life of the ancient prophet.

Are There Reasons to Believe that the Story of Enoch Found in Moses 6-7 Has Some Basis in Antiquity?

Another notably long revelatory section of the book of Moses contains the story of Enoch,¹⁴⁴⁵ an account whose resemblances to other Enoch texts have provoked a variety of explanations.¹⁴⁴⁶ The most popular of these explanations asserts that Joseph Smith derived these chapters from acquaintance with the pseudepigraphal book of *1 Enoch*. In his master's thesis,¹⁴⁴⁷ Salvatore Cirillo cites and amplifies the arguments of Quinn¹⁴⁴⁸ that the available evidence that Joseph Smith had access to published works related to *1 Enoch* has moved "beyond probability — to fact." He sees no other explanation than this for the substantial similarities that he finds between the book of Moses and the pseudepigraphal Enoch literature.¹⁴⁴⁹ However, reflecting on the "coincidence" of the appearance of the first English translation of *1 Enoch* in 1821, just a few years before Joseph Smith received his Enoch revelations, Richard L. Bushman concludes nonetheless:¹⁴⁵⁰ "It is scarcely conceivable that Joseph Smith knew of Laurence's Enoch translation."

Perhaps even more significant in rejecting *1 Enoch* as a source for Moses 6-7 is the fact that the principal themes of "Laurence's 105 translated chapters do not resemble Joseph Smith's Enoch in any obvious way."¹⁴⁵¹ Indeed, apart from the shared prominence of themes relating to the Son of Man motif in the *1 Enoch Book of Parables*¹⁴⁵² and the book of Moses, the most striking resemblances to the Prophet's revelations are found not in *1 Enoch*, but in related pseudepigrapha such as *2 Enoch* (first published in English at the end of the 19th century)¹⁴⁵³ and the Qumran *Book of the Giants* (an Enochic book discovered in 1948).¹⁴⁵⁴

The primary motifs in the book of Moses' account of Enoch's call, teachings, and glorification are illustrated throughout older texts. For example, Stephen Ricks has shown how the six characteristic features of the Old Testament narrative call pattern identified by Norman Habel are shown in the commissioning of Joseph Smith's Enoch.¹⁴⁵⁵ According to Samuel Zinner,¹⁴⁵⁶ the ideas behind the unusual wording of this commission arose in a matrix of the ancient Enoch literature.¹⁴⁵⁷

Enoch's self-description as a "lad" — the only instance of the term "lad" in the teachings and revelations of Joseph Smith — reflects the prominence of his title of "lad" in *2* and *3 Enoch*.¹⁴⁵⁸ Gary A. Anderson of the University of Notre Dame finds these latter references "curious," noting that "of all the names given Enoch, the title 'lad' is singled out as being particularly apt and fitting by the heavenly host."¹⁴⁵⁹

In the account of Enoch's teaching mission, there are several interesting resemblances with the fragmentary *Book of the Giants*.¹⁴⁶⁰ These resemblances range from general themes in the story line (secret works, murders, visions,

earthly and heavenly books of remembrance that evoke fear and trembling, moral corruption, hope held out for repentance, and the eventual defeat of Enoch's adversaries in battle, ending with their utter destruction and imprisonment) to specific occurrences of rare names and expressions in corresponding contexts.¹⁴⁶¹ Note that these resemblances with the *Book of the Giants* are not drawn at will from a large corpus but rather are concentrated in a scant three pages of Qumran fragments.

One of the most striking of these correspondences is in the name and role of "Mahijah/Mahujah," the only named character besides Enoch himself in Joseph Smith's story of Enoch.¹⁴⁶² Hugh Nibley observes:¹⁴⁶³ "The only thing the Mahijah in the book of Moses is remarkable for is his putting of bold direct questions to Enoch. And this is exactly the role, and the only role, that the Aramaic Mahujah plays in the story."

In the book of Moses, Enoch described how, as he and Mahujah "cried unto the Lord,"¹⁴⁶⁴ they were told to go to Mount Simeon. There, as Enoch stood upon the mount, the heavens opened and he was "clothed upon with glory."¹⁴⁶⁵ 2 and 3 *Enoch* purport to describe the process by which Enoch was "clothed upon with glory" in more detail. As a prelude to Enoch's introduction to the secrets of creation, these ancient accounts describe a "two-step initiatory procedure" whereby "the patriarch was first initiated by angel(s) and after this by the Lord"¹⁴⁶⁶ Himself. In 2 *Enoch*, God commanded his angels to "extract Enoch from (his) earthly clothing. And anoint him with my delightful oil, and put him into the clothes of my glory."¹⁴⁶⁷ Joseph Smith's Enoch was given a right to the divine throne,¹⁴⁶⁸ and, in 3 *Enoch*, God makes a throne for the seer and sits him down upon it.¹⁴⁶⁹

With regard to the visions of Enoch, the *Book of Parables* holds special interest for students of the book of Moses. Both books describe visions of Enoch with a central figure and a common set of titles. The title "Son of Man," which is a notable feature of the *Book of Parables*,¹⁴⁷⁰ also appears in marked density throughout Enoch's grand vision in the book of Moses.¹⁴⁷¹ The titles "Chosen One,"¹⁴⁷² "Anointed One,"¹⁴⁷³ and "Righteous One"¹⁴⁷⁴ also appear prominently in both texts. Consistent with the conclusions of Nickelsburg and VanderKam about the use of these multiple titles in the *Book of Parables*,¹⁴⁷⁵ the book of Moses applies them all to a single individual. Moses 6:57 gives a single, specific description of the role of the Son of Man as a "righteous judge."¹⁴⁷⁶ This conception is highly characteristic of the *Book of Parables*, where the primary role of the Son of Man is also that of a judge.¹⁴⁷⁷

Genesis implies that Enoch escaped death by being taken up alive into heaven.¹⁴⁷⁸ In a significant addition to the biblical record, the book of Moses states that the entire city of Enoch was eventually received up into heaven.¹⁴⁷⁹ Two late accounts preserve echoes of a similar motif. In A. Jellenik's translation of Jewish traditions, *Bet ha-Midrash*,¹⁴⁸⁰ we find the account of a group of Enoch's followers who steadfastly refused to leave him as he journeyed toward the place where he was going to be taken up to heaven. Afterward, a group of kings came to find out what happened to these people. After searching under large blocks of snow they unexpectedly found at the place, they failed to discover remains of Enoch or of his followers. In a Mandaean Enoch fragment,¹⁴⁸¹ a group of Enoch's adversaries complain that the prophet and those who had gone to heaven with him have escaped their reach: "By fleeing and hiding the people on high have ascended higher than us. We have never known them. All the same, there they are, clothed with glory and splendors ... And now they are sheltered from our blows." In addition to these limited accounts alluding to a group who seemingly rose with Enoch to heaven, David Larsen provides a valuable discussion that includes "examples in early Jewish and early Christian literature that depict this motif in a different way. Although they do not feature Enoch or his city explicitly, there is a recurring theme in some of the texts that corresponds to the idea of a priestly figure who leads a community of priests in an ascension into the heavenly realm."¹⁴⁸²

What Can We Surmise About the Process Joseph Smith Used to Translate the Bible?

With respect to the process of translation for the Book of Mormon, Brant Gardner posits a view of functionalist equivalence — "unless a very specific, detailed textual analysis supports an argument that particular words or passages are either literalist or conceptual."¹⁴⁸³ Royal Skousen differs in his understanding of the translation process, arguing that the words chosen for the English text were generally given under "tight control."¹⁴⁸⁴

That said, however, both Skousen and Gardner would agree, I think, that one should not assume that every change made in the JST constitutes revealed text, tightly controlled. Besides arguments that can be made on the basis of the modifications themselves, there are questions regarding the reliability and degree of supervision given to the scribes who transcribed, copied, and prepared the text for publication. Differences are also apparent in the nature of the translation process that took place at different stages of the work. For example, whereas a significant proportion of the Genesis passages canonized as the book of Moses look like "a word-for-word revealed text," evidence from a study of two sections in the New Testament that were translated twice indicates that the later "New

Testament JST is not being revealed word-for-word, but largely depends upon Joseph Smith's varying responses to the same difficulties in the text."¹⁴⁸⁵

Was Any of the Understanding Joseph Smith Relied on in Making His Translation of the Book of Moses Received Directly as the Result of a Vision?

Some aspects of the book of Moses, possibly including the comprehensive understanding of the Creation and the Fall that both Moses and Joseph Smith received, may have first come in vision and only later have been put into words. Regarding such visionary experiences, Lorenzo Brown remembered Joseph Smith as saying:¹⁴⁸⁶

After I got through translating the Book of Mormon, I took up the Bible to read with the Urim and Thummim. I read the first chapter of Genesis, and I saw the things as they were done, I turned over the next and the next, and the whole passed before me like a grand panorama; and so on chapter after chapter until I read the whole of it. I saw it all!

However, even if this account is accurate, I do not think that Joseph Smith recorded in a direct fashion everything that he saw and understood relating to the material in the book of Moses. In the chapters where the book of Moses closely parallels the Genesis account (i.e., Moses 2-5, 8 vs. Moses 1, 6, 7), he seems to have emended the biblical text only to the degree he felt necessary and authorized to do so, running roughshod, as it were, over the divisions of biblical source texts generally accepted by scholars. For example, rather than compose a completely new account of Creation and the Fall in the book of Moses, Joseph Smith wove changes based on his prophetic insights piece-by-piece into the existing Genesis account.¹⁴⁸⁷ As a result, in his effort to fulfill his divine mandate to "translate" scripture, the Prophet gives us enough revised and expanded material in the book of Moses to significantly impact our understanding of important doctrinal and historical topics, but does not rework existing KJV verses to the point they become unrecognizable to those familiar with the Bible.¹⁴⁸⁸

Is the Book of Moses in a "Final" Form?

It would be a mistake to assume that the book of Moses is currently in any sort of "final" form — if indeed such perfection in expression could ever be attained within the confines of what Joseph Smith called our "little, narrow prison, almost as it were, total darkness of paper, pen and ink; and a crooked, broken, scattered and imperfect language."¹⁴⁸⁹ As Robert J. Matthews, a pioneer of modern scholarship on the Joseph Smith Translation, aptly put it, "any part of the translation might have been further touched upon and improved by additional revelation and emendation by the Prophet."¹⁴⁹⁰

Though Joseph Smith was careful in his efforts to render a faithful translation of the Bible, he was no naïve advocate of the inerrancy or finality of scriptural language.¹⁴⁹¹ For instance, although in some cases his Bible translation attempted to resolve blatant inconsistencies among different accounts of the Creation and the life of Christ, he did not attempt to merge these sometimes divergent perspectives on the same events into a single harmonized version. Of course, having multiple accounts of these important stories should not be seen a defect or inconvenience. Differences in perspective between such accounts — and even seeming inconsistencies — composed “in [our] weakness, after the manner of [our] language, that [we] might come to understanding,”¹⁴⁹² can be an aid rather than a hindrance to human comprehension, perhaps serving disparate sets of readers or diverse purposes to some advantage.

In translating the Bible, Joseph Smith’s criterion for the acceptability of a given reading was typically pragmatic rather than absolute. For example, after quoting a verse from Malachi in a letter to the Saints, he admitted that he “might have rendered a plainer translation.” However, he said that his wording of the verse was satisfactory in this case because the words were “sufficiently plain to suit [the] purpose as it stands.”¹⁴⁹³ This pragmatic approach is also evident both in the scriptural passages cited to him by heavenly messengers and in his sermons and translations. In these instances, he often varied the wording of Bible verses to suit the occasion.¹⁴⁹⁴

There is another reason we should not think of the book of Moses as being in its “final” form. My study of the translations, teachings, and revelations of Joseph Smith has convinced me that he sometimes knew much more about certain sacred matters than he taught publicly. Indeed, in some cases, we know that the Prophet deliberately delayed the publication of early temple-related revelations connected with his work on the JST until several years after he initially received them.¹⁴⁹⁵ Even after Joseph Smith was well along in the translation process, he seems to have believed that God did not intend for him to publish the JST in his lifetime. For example, writing to W. W. Phelps in 1832, he said: “I would inform you that [the Bible translation] will not go from under my hand during my natural life for correction, revisal, or printing and the will of [the] Lord be done.”¹⁴⁹⁶

Although in later years Joseph Smith reversed his position and apparently made serious efforts to prepare the manuscript of the JST for publication, his own statement makes clear that initially he did not feel authorized to share publicly all he had produced — and learned — during the translation process. Indeed, a prohibition against indiscriminate sharing of some revelations, which parallels similar cautions found in pseudepigrapha,¹⁴⁹⁷ is explicit in the book of Moses

when it says of one sacred portion of the account: “Show [these words]s not unto any except them that believe.”¹⁴⁹⁸ Such admonitions are consistent with a remembrance of a statement by Joseph Smith that he intended to go back and rework some portions of the Bible translation to add in truths he was previously “restrained ... from giving in plainness and fulness.”¹⁴⁹⁹

In Summary, What Should We Make of the Book of Moses?

Our acceptance of the book of Moses as part of the LDS scriptural canon and, more generally, the premise that the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible might contain something more than a naïve personal update on passages that perplexed the Prophet has not only been a source of amusement for many non-Mormons, but also has drawn criticism even from some within the tradition of the Restoration. Consider the following quotation from former Community of Christ President W. Grant McMurray who, in a 2006 address to the John Whitmer Historical Association, said:

I grew up being taught that not only did we have the original church restored, but we were also given the Bible in its perfected, pristine form resulting from Joseph Smith's call to translate it under the influence of the Holy Spirit. We have known for decades that it is not a restoration of the original text. That would be even more compelling a statement if there were such a thing as an original text of the Bible. What we do have is a theological commentary by Joseph Smith, demonstrably incomplete, that got some of the most significant scriptural language, particularly the theology of grace so beautifully expressed in the Pauline letters and butchered in the Inspired Version. It is time to identify it properly as a product of Joseph Smith's fertile and creative mind. I have not preached from it for decades. There are many fine versions available based on current scholarship and with poetic and literary power. The Inspired Version should have no standing as an authoritative Biblical version for the Church.¹⁵⁰⁰

While recognizing that the above statement of President McMurray does not represent the view of all members of the Community of Christ, sadly, it still expresses the opinion of many people today.

It is my firm witness that the book of Moses is a priceless prophetic reworking of the book of Genesis, made with painstaking effort under divine direction. Having spent the last few years in focused study of the early chapters of JST Genesis, I have been astonished with the extent to which its words reverberate with the echoes of antiquity — and, no less significantly, with the deepest truths of my own experience. Although neither “complete” nor “inerrant,” it is a text of inestimable value that constitutes a centerpiece of my personal scripture study.

With respect to yet unrevealed portions of the book of Abraham, a companion to the book of Moses, Hugh Nibley reminds us:

Important parts of the Pearl of Great Price which are still being held back include “writings that cannot be revealed unto the world; but is [*sic*] to be had in the holy Temple of God,”¹⁵⁰¹ “ought not to be revealed at the present time.”¹⁵⁰² Years ago, when we cited some passages from what we called an Egyptian endowment,¹⁵⁰³ without elaborating, many Latter-day Saints quietly recognized their own temple endowment. Important things are still expressly withheld which “ought not to be revealed at the present time”; these include Facsimile 2, figures 12-21. For some of the secrets there is a standing invitation: “If the world can find out these numbers, so let it be. Amen.”¹⁵⁰⁴ That was over a century and a half ago, and the invitation to search is still open.¹⁵⁰⁵

References

- Ackroyd, Peter. 1995. *Blake*. London, England: Vintage, 1999.
- Adam and Eve. In *Wikipedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_and_Eve. (accessed September 27, 2008).
- Adams, Vivian McConkie. "'Our glorious mother Eve'." In *The Man Adam*, edited by Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, 87-111. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1990.
- . 2010. Our glorious mother Eve. In *Deseret Book Audio Talk*. http://deseretbook.com/item/9999990/Our_Glorious_Mother_Eve. (accessed February 7, 2010).
- al-Khalesi, Yasin M. *The Court of the Palms: A Functional Interpretation of the Mari Palace*. *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 8, ed. Giorgio Buccellati. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1978.
- al-Kisa'i, Muhammad ibn Abd Allah. ca. 1000-1100. *Tales of the Prophets (Qisas al-anbiya)*. Translated by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. *Great Books of the Islamic World*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr. Chicago, IL: KAZI Publications, 1997.
- al-Tabari. d. 923. *The History of al-Tabari: General Introduction and From the Creation to the Flood*. Vol. 1. Translated by Franz Rosenthal. *Biblioteca Persica*, ed. Ehsan Yar-Shater. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989.
- al-Tha'labi, Abu Ishaq Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim. d. 1035. *'Ara'is Al-Majalis Fi Qisas Al-Anbiya' or "Lives of the Prophets"*. Translated by William M. Brinner. *Studies in Arabic Literature, Supplements to the Journal of Arabic Literature, Volume 24*, ed. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2002.
- Alexander, P. "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 223-315. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Alexander, Philip S. "From son of Adam to second God: Transformations of the biblical Enoch." In *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, edited by Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren, 87-122. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998.
- Alexander, T. Desmond. *From Eden to the New Jerusalem: An Introduction to Biblical Theology*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel, 2008.
- Alighieri, Dante. *Commedia*, 1321. In *Princeton Dante Project*, Princeton. <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/index.html>. (accessed November 28, 2007).
- Allison, Dale C., ed. *Testament of Abraham*. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.

REFERENCES

- Alter, Robert, ed. *The David Story: A Translation with Commentary of 1 and 2 Samuel*. New York City, NY: W. W. Norton, 1999.
- , ed. *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary*. New York City, NY: W. W. Norton, 2004.
- American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (Fourth Edition, 2000). In *Bartleby.com*. <http://www.bartleby.com/61/>. (accessed April 26, 2009).
- Andersen, F. I. "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 91-221. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Anderson, E. H., and R. T. Haag. "The Book of the Revelation of Abraham: A Translation (from G. Nathanael Bonwetsch's then unpublished German translation)." *Improvement Era* 1, August-September 1898, 705-14, 93-806.
- Anderson, Gary A. "The cosmic mountain: Eden and its early interpreters in Syriac Christianity." In *Genesis 1-3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, edited by G. A. Robins, 187-224. Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1988.
- Anderson, Gary A., and Michael Stone, eds. *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* 2nd ed. *Society of Biblical Literature: Early Judaism and its Literature*, ed. John C. Reeves. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Anderson, Gary A. "The exaltation of Adam." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone and Johannes Tromp, 83-110. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- . "Ezekiel 28, the fall of Satan, and the Adam books." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael Stone and Johannes Tromp, 133-47. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- . "The original form of the *Life of Adam and Eve*: A proposal." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone and Johannes Tromp, 215-31. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- . "The penitence narrative in the *Life of Adam and Eve*." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone and Johannes Tromp, 3-42. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- . *The Genesis of Perfection: Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.
- Andrus, Hyrum L. *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1970.
- . *Doctrinal Commentary on the Pearl of Great Price*. Revised ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2003.
- Arnold, Bill T. *Genesis*. *New Cambridge Bible Commentary*, ed. Ben Witherington, III. New York City, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

- Arnon, Noam. *The Cave of Machpela: Roots of the Jewish People*. Translated by Raphael Blumberg. 2nd ed. Kiryat Arba, Hebron, Israel: The Ma'arat HaMachpela Authority and The Jewish Community of Hebron, 2004.
- Asay, Carlos E. "The temple garment: 'An outward expression of an inward commitment'." In *Temples of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 35-41. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1999.
- Aschkenasy, Nehama. *Woman at the Window: Biblical Tales of Oppression and Escape*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1998.
- Ashraf, Syed Ali. "The inner meaning of the Islamic rites: Prayer, pilgrimage, fasting, jihad." In *Islamic Spirituality 1: Foundations*, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 111-30. New York City, NY: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1987.
- Assman, Jan. 1984. *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- . 2001. *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- at-Tabataba'i, Allamah as-Sayyid Muhammad Husayn. 1973. *Al-Mizan: An Exegesis of the Qur'an*. Translated by Sayyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi. 3rd ed. Tehran, Iran: World Organization for Islamic Services, 1983.
- Bachman, Danel W. "New light on an old hypothesis: The Ohio origins of the revelation on eternal marriage." *Journal of Mormon History* 5 (1978): 19-32.
- Bakhos, Carol. "Genesis, the Qur'an and Islamic interpretation." In *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, edited by Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr and David L. Petersen. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Formation and interpretation of Old Testament Literature 152, eds. Christl M. Maier, Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 607-32. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.
- Baldwin, Robert W. "The Legend of the True Cross: Piero's Frescoes at Arezzo." In *A Critical History of Western Art, 1300-2000*, edited by Robert W. Baldwin. New London, CT: Connecticut College (published only on CD-ROM), 2001. <http://oak.conncoll.edu/rwbal/>. (accessed September 1).
- Bandstra, Barry L. *Genesis 1-11: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text*. *Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Bible*, ed. W. Dennis Tucker, Jr. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2008.
- Barker, Margaret. Where shall wisdom be found? In *Russian Orthodox Church: Representation to the European Institutions*. <http://orthodoxeurope.org/page/11/1/7.aspx>. (accessed December 24, 2007).

REFERENCES

- . *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), 1987.
- . *The Gate of Heaven: The History and Symbolism of the Temple*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), 1991.
- . *On Earth as It Is in Heaven: Temple Symbolism in the New Testament*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 1995.
- . "Atonement: The rite of healing." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 49, no. 1 (1996): 1-20. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~div054/sjt>. (accessed August 3).
- . *The Risen Lord: The Jesus of History as the Christ of Faith*. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996.
- . *The Revelation of Jesus Christ: Which God Gave to Him to Show to His Servants What Must Soon Take Place (Revelation 1.1)*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 2000.
- . "The Great High Priest." *BYU Studies* 42, no. 3 (2003): 65-84.
- . "The holy of holies." In *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy*, edited by Margaret Barker, 146-87. London, England: T & T Clark, 2003.
- . "The veil as the boundary." In *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy*, edited by Margaret Barker, 202-28. London, England: T & T Clark, 2003.
- . "Wisdom, the Queen of Heaven." In *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy*, edited by Margaret Barker, 229-61. London, England: T & T Clark, 2003.
- . *Temple Theology*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), 2004.
- . "Joseph Smith and preexilic Israelite religion." *BYU Studies* 44, no. 4 (2005): 69-82.
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, June 11, 2007.
- . *The Hidden Tradition of the Kingdom of God*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), 2007.
- . "Who was Melchizedek and who was his God?" Presented at the 2007 Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Session S19-72 on 'Latter-day Saints and the Bible', San Diego, CA, November 17-20, 2007.
- . Personal Communication to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, September 22, 2008.
- . *Christmas: The Original Story*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 2008.
- . *Temple Themes in Christian Worship*. London, England: T&T Clark, 2008.
- Barlow, Philip L. *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1991.

- . "Decoding Mormonism." *Christian Century*, 17 January 1996, 52-55.
- . "Ten Commandments for balancing the life of the mind and spirit on campus." In *A Twenty-Something's Guide to Spirituality: Questions You Hesitate to Ask, Answers You Rarely Hear*, edited by Jacob Werrett and David Read, 132-71. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2007.
- . 1991. *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion*. Updated ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Barney, Kevin L. Is Nauvoo a Hebrew word? In *Ask the apologist*, FAIR. <http://www.fairlds.org/apol/misc/misc12.html>. (accessed August 7, 2007).
- . "Poetic diction and parallel word pairs in the Book of Mormon." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 4, no. 2 (1995): 15-23.
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, June 21, 2006.
- , ed. *Footnotes to the New Testament for Latter-day Saints*. 3 vols, 2007. <http://feastupontheword.org/Site:NTFootnotes>. (accessed February 26, 2008).
- . 2014. Authoring the Old Testament. In *By Common Consent*. <http://bycommonconsent.com/2014/02/23/authoring-the-old-testament/> Page. (accessed March 15, 2014).
- Barney, Ronald O. 2013. Joseph Smith's Visions: His Style and his Record. In *Proceedings of the 2013 FAIR Conference*. <http://www.fairlds.org/fair-conferences/2013-fair-conference/2013-joseph-smiths-visions-his-style-and-his-record>. (accessed September 15, 2013).
- Barnstone, Willis, and Marvin W. Meyer. "The Coptic Manichaean Songbook, Songs of Thomas." In *The Gnostic Bible*, edited by Willis Barnstone and Marvin Meyer, 616-24. Boston, MA: Shambhala, 2003.
- . "The Mother of Books (Umm al-kitab)." In *The Gnostic Bible*, edited by Willis Barnstone and Marvin Meyer. Translated by Willis Barnstone, 655-725. Boston, MA: Shambhala, 2003.
- Barrelet, Marie-Thérèse. "Une peinture de la cour 106 du palais de Mari." In *Studia Mariana*, edited by André Parrot. Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 4, 9-35. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1950.
- Bauckham, Richard, James R. Davila, Alex Panayotov, and James H. Charlesworth, eds. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2013.
- Beach, Edward Allen. "The Eleusinian Mysteries." In *The Potencies of God(s): Schelling's Philosophy of Mythology*, edited by Edward Allen Beach, 238-44. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994. <http://www.uwec.edu/philrel/faculty/beach/Publications/eleusis.html>. (accessed August 14).

REFERENCES

- Beale, Gregory K. *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God. New Studies in Biblical Theology 1*, ed. Donald A. Carson. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004.
- Beale, Gregory K., and Donald A. Carson, eds. *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007.
- Bednar, David A. 2002. Stand ye in holy places (Talk given during Mothers' Weekend, BYU Idaho, 22 March). In. http://www.byui.edu/Presentations/Transcripts/WomensWeek/2002_03_22_Bednar.htm. (accessed March 6, 2010).
- . "Clean hands and a pure heart." *Ensign* 37, November 2007, 80-83.
- . "Honorably hold a name and standing." *Ensign* 39, May 2009, 97-100.
- . "Faithful parents and wayward children: Sustaining hope while overcoming misunderstanding." *Ensign* 44, March 2014, 28-33.
- . 2006. "Seek Learning by Faith." *Ensign* 37, September 2007, 60-68.
- Benét, Stephen Vincent. *The Devil and Daniel Webster*. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1937. <http://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/lpop/etext/devil/devil.htm>. (accessed September 30).
- . "The author is pleased." New York City, NY: The New York Times, September 28, 1941.
- Benson, Ezra Taft. 1977. A vision and a hope for the youth of Zion (12 April 1977). In *BYU Speeches and Devotionals*, Brigham Young University. <http://speeches.byu.edu/reader/reader.php?id=6162>. (accessed August 7, 2007).
- . "The Book of Mormon—Keystone of our religion." *Ensign* 16, November 1986, 4-7. <https://www.lds.org/ensign/1986/11/the-book-of-mormon-keystone-of-our-religion?lang=eng>. (accessed March 20, 2014).
- . *The Teachings of Ezra Taft Benson*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1988.
- Benson, Roseann. "The Marriage of Adam and Eve: An Ancient Covenant." Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003.
- Berlin, Adele. *Esther. The JPS Bible Commentary*, ed. Michael Fishbane. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2001.
- Bethge, Hans-Gebhard, and Bentley Layton. "On the origin of the world." In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed, 170-89. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
- Betz, Hans Dieter, and dela Yarbro Collins, eds. *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount, including the Sermon on the Plain (Matthew 5:3-7:27 and Luke 6:20-49). Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Klaus Baltzer, Paul D. Hanson, S. Dean McBride, Jr., Peter Machinist, Susan

- Niditch, Christopher R. Seitz and Roland E. Murphy. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995.
- Bialik, Hayim Nahman, and Yehoshua Hana Ravnitzky, eds. 1902. *The Book of Legends (Sefer Ha-Aggadah): Legends from the Talmud and Midrash*. Translated by William G. Braude. New York City, NY: Schocken Books, 1992.
- Bickmore, Barry Robert. *Restoring the Ancient Church: Joseph Smith and Early Christianity*. Ben Lomond, CA: Foundation for Apologetic Information and Research (FAIR), 1999.
- bin Gorion, Micha Joseph (Berdichevsky), and Emanuel bin Gorion, eds. 1939-1945. *Mimekor Yisrael: Classical Jewish Folktales*. 3 vols. Translated by I. M. Lask. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976.
- Birrell, Anne. *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Black, Jeremy A., Anthony Green, and Tessa Rickards. *Gods, Demons, and Symbols of Ancient Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Blake, William. *The Illuminated Blake: William Blake's Complete Illuminated Works with a Plate-by-Plate Commentary*. New York City, NY: Dover Publications, 1974.
- . ca. 1788. "There is No Natural Religion." In *William Blake: The Complete Illuminated Books*, edited by David Bindman, 31-41. New York City, NY: Thames and Hudson, and the William Blake Trust, 2000.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph. "The structure of P." *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1976): 275-92. Structure of P.
- Block, Daniel I. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25-48. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament*, ed. Robert L. Hubbard, Jr. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1998.
- Bloom, Harold. *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation*. New York City, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1992.
- . *Genius: A Mosaic of One Hundred Exemplary Creative Minds*. New York City, NY: Warner Books, 2002.
- . *Jesus and Yahweh: The Names Divine*. New York City, NY: Riverhead Books (Penguin Group), 2005.
- . 1963. *Blake's Apocalypse: A Study in Poetic Argument*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Blumenthal, David, ed. *The Merkabah Tradition and the Zoharic Tradition. Understanding Jewish Mysticism: A Source Reader 1*. Jersey City, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1979.
- Bokovoy, David E., and John A. Tvedtnes. *Testaments: Links Between the Book of Mormon and the Hebrew Bible*. Tooele, UT: Heritage Press, 2003.

REFERENCES

- Bokovoy, David E. *Authoring the Old Testament: Genesis-Deuteronomy. Contemporary Studies in Scripture*. Salt Lake City, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2014.
- Borgen, Peder. "The Gospel of John and Philo of Alexandria." In *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by James H. Charlesworth and Michael A. Daise, 45-76. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003.
- Box, G. H. 1918. *The Apocalypse of Abraham. Translations of Early Documents, Series 1: Palestinian Jewish Texts (Pre-Rabbinic)*. London, England: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M. "The Ezekiel Mural at Dura Europos: A tangible witness of Philo's Jewish mysteries?" *BYU Studies* 49, no. 1 (2010): 4-49.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and Ronan J. Head. "Mormonism's Satan and the Tree of Life (Longer version of an invited presentation originally given at the 2009 Conference of the European Mormon Studies Association, Turin, Italy, 30-31 July 2009)." *Element: A Journal of Mormon Philosophy and Theology* 4, no. 2 (2010): 1-54.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and David J. Larsen. "The Apocalypse of Abraham: An ancient witness for the book of Moses." Presented at the 2010 FAIR Conference, Sandy, UT, August 5, 2010. http://www.fairlds.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/2010_Apocalypse_of_Abraham.pdf. (accessed January 9, 2013).
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and Ronan J. Head. "The investiture panel at Mari and rituals of divine kingship in the ancient Near East." *Studies in the Bible and Antiquity* 4 (2012): 1-42.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., Jacob Rennaker, and David J. Larsen. "Revisiting the forgotten voices of weeping in Moses 7: A comparison with ancient texts." *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 2 (2012): 41-71.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M. "The tree of knowledge as the veil of the sanctuary." In *Ascending the Mountain of the Lord: Temple, Praise, and Worship in the Old Testament*, edited by David Rolph Seely, Jeffrey R. Chadwick and Matthew J. Grey. The 42nd Annual Brigham Young University Sidney B. Sperry Symposium (26 October, 2013), 49-65. Provo and Salt Lake City, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University and Deseret Book, 2013.
- . *Creation, Fall, and the Story of Adam and Eve*. 2014 Updated ed. In *God's Image and Likeness 1*. Salt Lake City, UT: Eborn Publishing, 2014.
- . "The LDS book of Enoch as the culminating story of a temple text." *BYU Studies* 53, no. 1 (2014): 39-73.

- . "Sorting out the sources in scripture. (Review of David E. Bokovoy, *Authoring the Old Testament: Genesis-Deuteronomy*).\" *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 9 (2014): 215-72.
- . "Standing in the Holy Place: Ancient and modern reverberations of an enigmatic New Testament prophecy." In *Ancient Temple Worship: Proceedings of the Expound Symposium, 14 May 2011*, edited by Matthew B. Brown, Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, Stephen D. Ricks and John S. Thompson. Temple on Mount Zion 1. Orem and Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2014.
- . *Temple Themes in the Oath and Covenant of the Priesthood*. 2014 update ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Eborn Books, 2014.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M., and David J. Larsen. *Enoch, Noah, and the Tower of Babel. In God's Image and Likeness 2*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Interpreter Foundation and Eborn Books, 2014.
- Bradshaw, Jeffrey M. "Freemasonry and the Origins of Modern Temple Ordinances." *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 15 (2015): 159-237.
- Braude, William G., ed. *The Midrash on Psalms (Midrash Tehillim)*. 2 vols. *Yale Judaica Series* 13, ed. Leon Nemoy. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1959.
- , ed. *Pesikta Rabbati: Discourses for Feasts, Fasts, and Special Sabbaths*. 2 vols. *Yale Judaica Series* 28, ed. Leon Nemoy, Saul Lieberman and Harry A. Wolfson. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Brenton, Lancelot C. L. 1851. *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005.
- Brinkerhoff, Val. *The Day Star: Reading Sacred Architecture*. 2 vols. Honeoye Falls, NY: Digital Legends Press, 2009.
- Broderick, Carlfred. 1987. "The Uses of Adversity." In *My Parents Married on a Dare and Other Favorite Essays on Life*, edited by Carlfred Broderick, 121-41. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1996.
- Brodie, Thomas L. *Genesis as Dialogue: A Literary, Historical, and Theological Commentary*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Brooke, John L. *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. 1906. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005.
- Brown, Matthew B. "Girded about with a lambskin." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997): 124-51.
- . *The Gate of Heaven: Insights on the Doctrines and Symbols of the Temple*. American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 1999.

REFERENCES

- . *Exploring the Connection Between Mormons and Masons*. American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2009.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave*. 2 vols. *The Anchor Bible Reference Library*, ed. David Noel Freedman. New York City, NY: Doubleday, 1994.
- Brown, S. Kent. "Man and Son of Man: Issues of theology and Christology." In *The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations from God*, edited by H. Donl Peterson and Charles D. Tate, Jr., 57-72. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1989.
- . "The arrest." In *From the Last Supper through the Resurrection: The Savior's Final Hours*, edited by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Thomas A. Wayment. *The Life and Teachings of Jesus Christ* 2, 165-209. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2003.
- . *Voices from the Dust: Book of Mormon Insights*. Salt Lake City, UT: Covenant Communications, 2004.
- Brown, William P. *The Seven Pillars of Creation: The Bible, Science, and the Ecology of Wonder*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Bruner, Frederick Dale. 1990. *Matthew: A Commentary*. 2 vols. Vol. 2: The Churchbook. Revised and Expanded ed. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2004.
- Buck, Christopher. *Paradise and Paradigm: Key Symbols in Persian Christianity and the Baha'i Faith*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999.
- Budge, E. A. Wallis, ed. *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*. London, England: The Religious Tract Society, 1927. Reprint, New York City, NY: Cosimo Classics, 2005.
- . "Adam describes the rebellion of Satan against God." In *Egyptian Tales and Romances: Pagan, Christian and Muslim*, edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, 292-95. London, England: Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1931. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2003.
- Bullard, Roger A., and Bentley Layton. "The Hypostasis of the Archons (II, 4)." In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed, 161-69. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
- Bunta, Silviu. "The likeness of the image: Adamic motifs and tzlm anthropoly in rabbinic traditions about Jacob's image enthroned in heaven." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 37, no. 1 (2006): 55-84.
<http://docserver.ingentaconnect.com/deliver/connect/brill/00472212/v37n1/s3.pdf>. (accessed July 2).

- Bushman, Richard Lyman. *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling, A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder*. New York City, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- . 1969. "Faithful history." In *Believing History: Latter-day Saint Essays*, edited by Reid L. Neilson and Jed L. Woodworth, 3-19. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004.
- Butterworth, Edric Allen Schofeld. *The Tree at the Navel of the Earth*. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 1970.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336. Lectures on the History of Religions, American Council of Learned Societies, New Series 15*. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Calabro, David. "Rolling out the etymology of northwest Semitic *sglt*." Presented at the Proceedings of the Eighth Afro-Asiatic Congress, Naples, Italy 2008, 63-78.
- Callender, Dexter E. *Adam in Myth and History: Ancient Israelite Perspectives on the Primal Human*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.
- Campbell, Beverly. "Eve." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow. 4 vols. Vol. 2, 475-76. New York City, NY: Macmillan, 1992. <http://www.lib.byu.edu/Macmillan/>. (accessed November 26).
- . *Eve and the Choice Made in Eden*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 2003.
- Campbell, Joseph. *Historical Atlas of World Mythology, Volume 1: The Way of the Hunter Gatherers, Part 1: Mythologies of the Primitive Hunters and Gatherers*. New York City, NY: Perennial Library, Harper and Row, 1988.
- Cannon, George Q. *Gospel Truth*. 2 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1957-1974.
- . 1888. *The Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*. Second ed. Salt Lake City, UT: The Deseret News, 1907.
- . 1888. *The Life of Joseph Smith, the Prophet*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- Carasik, Michael, ed. *The JPS Miqra'ot Gedolot: Exodus. The Commentator's Bible*. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 2005.
- Carr, David M. *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Carroll, James L. "The reconciliation of Adam and Israelite temples." *Studia Antiqua* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 83-101.
- Cassler, Valerie Hudson. 2010. The Two Trees. In *FAIRMormon Conference Presentations 2010*. <http://www.fairmormon.org/perspectives/fair-conferences/2010-fair-conference/2010-the-two-trees>.

REFERENCES

- Cassuto, Umberto. 1944. *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. Vol. 1: From Adam to Noah. Translated by Israel Abrahams. 1st English ed. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1998.
- . 1949. *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*. Vol. 2: From Noah to Abraham. Translated by Israel Abrahams. 1st English ed. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1997.
- Cazenave, Michel. *Encyclopédie des Symboles (Updated and expanded version of the German text of Hans Biedermann Knaurs Lexicon der Symbole)*. Translated by Françoise Périgaut, Gisèle Marie and Alexandre Tondat. Paris, France: Librairie Générale Française, 1996.
- Charles, R. H., ed. *The Book of Enoch Together with a Reprint of the Greek Fragments* 2nd ed. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1912. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2005.
- , ed. *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*. 2 vols. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1913. Reprint, Berkeley, CA: Apocryphile Press, 2004.
- Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983. <http://ocp.acadiau.ca/>. (accessed September 20).
- . "The classical Protestant view of human nature." In *On Human Nature: The Jerusalem Center Symposium*, edited by Truman G. Madsen, David Noel Freedman and Pam Fox Kuhlken, 69-84. Ann Arbor, MI: Pryor Pettengill Publishers, 2004.
- . *The Good and Evil Serpent: How a Universal Symbol Became Christianized*. *The Anchor Bible Reference Library*, ed. John J. Collins. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Chesterton, Gilbert Keith. 1908. *Orthodoxy*. New York City, NY: Image Books / Doubleday, 2001.
- . 1910. *William Blake*. New York City, NY: Cosimo, 2005.
- Chouraqui, André, ed. *La Bible*. Paris, France: Desclée de Brouwer, 2003.
- Chrysostom, John. ca. 386-407. *Homilies on Genesis 1-17*. Translated by Robert Hill. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1986.
- Cirillo, Salvatore. "Joseph Smith, Mormonism, and Enochic Tradition." Masters Thesis, Durham University, 2010.
- Clark, E. Douglas. *The Blessings of Abraham: Becoming a Zion People*. American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2005.
- . "Cedars and stars: Enduring symbols of cosmic kingship in Abraham's encounter with Pharaoh." In *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, edited by John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid. Studies in the Book of Abraham 3, 37-55. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Brigham Young University, 2005.

- . "A prologue to Genesis: Moses 1 in light of Jewish traditions." *BYU Studies* 45, no. 1 (2006): 129-42.
- Clark, J. Reuben, Jr. "Talk for the Evening Meeting." In *Conference Report: One Hundred Twelfth Semiannual General Conference, October 1942*, 54-59. 1942.
- Clark, James R., ed. *Messages of the First Presidency*. 6 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1965-1975.
- Clayton, William. *Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1995.
- Clement of Alexandria. ca. 190-215. "The Stromata, or Miscellanies." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325)*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. Vol. 2, 299-568. Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1885. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- Clifford, Richard J., ed. *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible. Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 26*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1994.
- . "Ewe and Wheat." In *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible*, edited by Richard J. Clifford, 45-46. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1994.
- Cohen, Abraham, ed. *The Soncino Chumash: The Five Books of Moses with Haphtaroth*. London: The Soncino Press, 1983.
- Cohen, H. Hirsch. *The Drunkenness of Noah*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1974.
- Coles, Robert. *The Secular Mind*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Coleson, Joseph E. "Israel's life cycle from birth to resurrection." In *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*, edited by Avraham Gileadi, 237-50. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988.
- Collins, John J. *The Apocalyptic Imagination*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1984.
- . "The sons of God and the daughters of men." In *Sacred Marriages*, edited by Martti Nissinen and Risto Uro, 259-74. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.
- . "The angelic life." In *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, edited by Turid Karlsen Seim and Jorunn Okland. Ekstasis: Religious Experience from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, ed. John R. Levison, 291-310. Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.
- Colvin, Don F. *Nauvoo Temple: A Story of Faith*. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2002.
- Compton, Todd M. "The handclasp and embrace as tokens of recognition." In *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, edited by

REFERENCES

- John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 611-42. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990.
- Condie, Spencer J. *Your Agency: Handle with Care*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1996.
- Conisbee, Philip. *Art for the Nation: Collecting for a Century*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2000.
- Cooper, James, and Arthur John Maclean, eds. ca. 350. *Testament of Our Lord, Translated into English from the Syriac with Introduction and Notes* 1st ed. London, England: T&T Clark, 1902. Reprint, BookSurge Publishing, 2000.
- Cowan, Richard O. *Temples to Dot the Earth*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1989.
- Crenshaw, James L. "Love is stronger than death: Intimations of life beyond the grave." In *Resurrection: The Origin and Future of a Biblical Doctrine*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 53-78. New York City, NY: T & T Clark International, 2006.
- Cyril of Jerusalem. ca. 347. "First Catechetical Lectures." In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. 14 vols. Vol. 7, 6-143. New York City, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1894. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.
- Dahl, Larry E., and Charles D. Tate, Jr., eds. *The Lectures on Faith in Historical Perspective. Religious Studies Specialized Monograph Series 15*. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1990.
- Dalley, Stephanie. *Mari and Karana: Two Old Babylonian Cities*. London, England: Longman Group, 1984.
- Dan, Joseph. *Jewish Mysticism*. 4 vols. Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1998-1999.
- Danker, Frederick William, Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (BDAG)*. Third ed. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Davidson, Gustav. 1967. *A Dictionary of Angels, including the Fallen Angels*. New York City, NY: The Free Press, 1971.
- Davis, Avrohom, and Yaakov Y. H. Pupko. *The Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma, Bamidbar 2*. Translated by S. Cassel. Kamenetsky ed. Lakewood, NJ: Israel Book Shop, 2006.
- Dawood, N. J. 1956. *The Koran*. London, England: Penguin Books, 1997.
- de Troyes, Chrétien. ca. 1180. "Yvain." In *Arthurian Romances*. Translated by W. W. Comfort, 157-233. Mineola, NY: Dover Books, 2006.
- Della Torre, Stefano Levi. "The anxiety of Eden." In *The Earthly Paradise: The Garden of Eden from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by F. Regina Psaki and Charles Hindley. International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism, 5-13. Binghamton, NY: Academic Studies in the History of

- Judaism, Global Publications, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2002.
- Dennis, Lane T., Wayne Grudem, J. I. Packer, C. John Collins, Thomas R. Schreiner, and Justin Taylor. *English Standard Version (ESV) Study Bible*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway Bibles, 2008.
- Derr, Jill Mulvay. "The significance of 'O My Father' in the personal journey of Eliza R. Snow." *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1 (1996-1997): 84-126.
- Dirkmaat, Gerrit. "Great and marvelous are the revelations of God." *Ensign* 43, January 2013, 55-59.
- Dogniez, Cécile, and Marguerite Harl, eds. *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie: Texte Grec et Traduction. La Bible des Septante*, ed. Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl. Paris, France: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2001.
- Doob, Penelope B. R. *Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Draper, Richard D., and Donald W. Parry. "Seven promises to those who overcome: Aspects of Genesis 2-3 in the seven letters." In *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, 121-41. Provo, UT: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) at Brigham Young University, 1999.
- Draper, Richard D., S. Kent Brown, and Michael D. Rhodes. *The Pearl of Great Price: A Verse-by-Verse Commentary*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- Drower, E. S. *The Mandaean of Iraq and Iran*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1937. Reprint, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2002.
- , ed. *The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa, The Mandaic Text Reproduced Together with Translation, Notes and Commentary. Studi e testi* 176. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1953.
http://www.egnu.org/~mandaeen/The_Haran_Gawaita_and_The_Baptism_of_Hibil_Ziwa_Drower.pdf. (accessed September 11).
- , ed. *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaean*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1959. <http://www.gnosis.org/library/ginzarba.htm>. (accessed September 11, 2007).
- . *The Secret Adam: A Study of Nasoraean Gnosis*. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1960.
http://www.egnu.org/~mandaeen/The_Secret_Adam_Drower.pdf. (accessed September 15).
- , ed. *The Thousand and Twelve Questions (Alf Trisar Shuialia)*. *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung* 32. Berlin, Germany: Akademie-Verlag, 1960.
- Duke, James T. "Word pairs and distinctive combinations in the Book of Mormon." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 12, no. 2 (2003): 32-41.

REFERENCES

- Dunn, James D. G., and John W. Rogerson. *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2003.
- Eaton, John H. *Kingship and the Psalms*. London, England: SCM Press, 1976.
- Eccles, Robert S. *Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough: A Personal Pilgrimage. Society of Biblical Literature, Biblical Scholarship in North America*, ed. Kent Harold Richards. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Eden, Giulio Busi. "The mystical architecture of Eden in the Jewish tradition." In *The Earthly Paradise: The Garden of Eden from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by F. Regina Psaki and Charles Hindley. International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism, 15-22. Binghamton, NY: Academic Studies in the History of Judaism, Global Publications, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2002.
- Edersheim, Alfred. 1874. *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services As They Were At the Time of Jesus Christ*. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1997.
- Eliade, Mircea. 1954. *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*. Bollingen 46. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005.
- Emminghaus, Johannes H. 1978. *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration*. Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Revised ed. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1997.
- England, Eugene. "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal." *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1978): 151-78.
- . *Why the Church is as True as the Gospel*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1986.
- Ephrem the Syrian. ca. 350-363. *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*. Translated by Kathleen E. McVey. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989.
- . ca. 350-363. "The Hymns on Virginity and on the Symbols of the Lord." In *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns*, edited by Kathleen E. McVey, 259-468. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1989.
- . ca. 350-363. "The Commentary on Genesis." In *Hymns on Paradise*, edited by Sebastian Brock, 197-227. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990.
- . ca. 350-363. "The Hymns on Paradise." In *Hymns on Paradise*, edited by Sebastian Brock, 77-195. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990.
- . ca. 350-363. *Hymns on Paradise*. Translated by Sebastian Brock. Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990.
- Etheridge, J. W., ed. *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum from the Chaldee*. 2 vols. London, England: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862, 1865. Reprint, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2005.
- <http://www.targum.info/pj/psjon.htm>. (accessed August 10, 2007).

- Eusebius. ca. 325. *The History of the Church*. Translated by G. A. Williamson and Andrew Louth. London, England: Penguin Books, 1989.
- Evans, Craig A., Joel N. Lohr, and David L. Petersen, eds. *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Formation and interpretation of Old Testament Literature 152*, ed. Christl M. Maier, Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.
- Eyring, Henry B., Jr. "That we may be one." *Ensign* 28, May 1998, 66-68.
- . "The power of teaching doctrine." *Ensign* 29, May 1999, 73-75.
- Faulconer, James E. "Self-image, self-love, and salvation." *Latter-day Digest* 2, June 1993, 7-26. <http://jamesfaulconer.byu.edu/selfimag.htm>. (accessed August 10, 2007).
- . "Adam and Eve—Community: Reading Genesis 2-3." *Journal of Philosophy and Scripture* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2003). http://www.philosophyandscripture.org/Issue1-1/James_Faulconer/james_faulconer.html. (accessed August 10).
- Faulkner, R. O., and Carol A. R. Andrews, eds. 1972. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* Revised ed. Translated by R. O. Faulkner. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2001.
- Faulkner, Raymond O., ed. 1973-1978. *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts: Spells 1-1185 and Indexes* Corrected 3-in-1 ed. Oxford, England: Aris & Phillips, 2007.
- Faulring, Scott H., Kent P. Jackson, and Robert J. Matthews, eds. *Joseph Smith's New Translation of the Bible: Original Manuscripts*. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2004.
- Faust, James E. "'Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?'" *Ensign* 31, August 2001, 2-5.
- Fisch, Harold. *The Biblical Presence in Shakespeare, Milton, and Blake: A Comparative Study*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Fishbane, Michael. "A note on the spirituality of texts." In *Etz Hayim Study Companion*, edited by Jacob Blumenthal and Janet L. Liss, 11-12. New York City, NY: The Rabbinical Assembly, The United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism, and The Jewish Publication Society, 2005.
- Fishbane, Michael A. "The sacred center." In *Texts and Responses: Studies Presented to Nahum H. Glatzer on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday By His Students*, edited by Michael A. Fishbane and P. R. Flohr, 6-27. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1975.
- Flake, Kathleen. "Translating time: The nature and function of Joseph Smith's narrative canon." *Journal of Religion* 87, no. 4 (October 2007): 497-527. http://www.vanderbilt.edu/divinity/facultynews/Flake_Translating_Time.pdf. (accessed February 22, 2009).

REFERENCES

- Flake, Lawrence R. *Three Degrees of Glory: Joseph Smith's Insights on the Kingdoms of Heaven*. American Fork, UT: Covenant Communications, 2000.
- Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. "The worship of divine humanity as God's image and the worship of Jesus." In *The Jewish Roots of Christological Montheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, edited by Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila and Gladys S. Lewis. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 63, 112-28. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1999.
- . "Some reflections on angelomorphic humanity texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7, no. 3 (2000): 292-312.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4193167>. (accessed January 23, 2010).
- . *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002.
- . 2002. The Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira. In *Jewish Roots of Eastern Christian Mysticism*, eds. Alexander Golitzin and Andrei A. Orlov.
<http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/Sirach1.pdf>,
<http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/Sirach2.pdf>. (accessed July 2, 2010).
- . "Religious experience and the apocalypses." In *Inquiry into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by Frances Flannery, Colleen Shantz and Rodney A. Werline, 125-46. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008.
- France, Richard Thomas. *The Gospel of Matthew. The New International Commentary on the New Testament*, ed. Gordon D. Fee. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2007.
- Frazer, James George. 1922. *The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic and Religion*, Abridged ed. In *Project Gutenberg*.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext03/bough11h.htm>. (accessed November 28, 2007).
- Freedman, David Noel. *The Nine Commandments*. Des Moines, IA: Anchor Bible, 2000.
- . "The nine commandments." Presented at the Proceedings of the 36th Annual Convention of the Association of Jewish Libraries, La Jolla, CA, June 24-27, 2001.
<http://www.jewishlibraries.org/ajlweb/publications/proceedings/proceedings2001/freedmand.pdf>. (accessed August 11).
- Freedman, H., and Maurice Simon, eds. 1939. *Midrash Rabbah* 3rd ed. 10 vols. London, England: Soncino Press, 1983.
- Freedman, R. David. "Woman, a power equal to man." *Biblical Archaeology Review* (January-February 1983): 56-58.

- Friedman, Richard Elliott. *The Hidden Book in the Bible*. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998.
- , ed. *Commentary on the Torah*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2001.
- . 1987. *Who Wrote the Bible?* San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1997.
- Frye, Northrop. *The Secular Scripture: A Study of the Structure of Romance. The Charles Eliot Norton Lectures, 1974-1975*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- . 1947. *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Gardner, Brant. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 19 March, 2014.
- Gardner, Brant A. *Second Witness: Analytical and Contextual Commentary of the Book of Mormon*. 6 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2007.
- . *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2011.
- . "Literacy and orality in the Book of Mormon." *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 9 (2014): 29-84.
- Gardner, Iain, ed. *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 37*, ed. James M. Robinson and H. J. Klimkeit. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995.
- Gaskill, Alonzo L. *The Lost Language of Symbolism: An Essential Guide for Recognizing and Interpreting Symbols of the Gospel*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2003.
- . *The Savior and the Serpent: Unlocking the Doctrine of the Fall*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- Gaylord, H. E., Jr. "3 (Greek Apocalypse of) Baruch." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 653-79. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Gee, John. "The keeper of the gate." In *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks. Temples Throughout the Ages 2, 233-73. Provo, UT: FARMS at Brigham Young University, 1999.
- . *A Guide to the Joseph Smith Papyri*. Provo, UT: FARMS at Brigham Young University, 2000.
- Gee, John, and Brian M. Hauglid, eds. *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant. Studies in the Book of Abraham 3*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Brigham Young University, 2005.
- Gertz, Jan Christian. "The formation of the primeval history." In *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, edited by Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr and David L. Petersen. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Formation and interpretation of Old Testament Literature

REFERENCES

- 152, eds. Christl M. Maier, Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 107-35. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.
- Gibson, Margaret Dunlop, ed. *Kitab al-Magall or The Book of the Rolls, One of the Books of Clement (1901). A History of Our First Parents: Adam and Eve*, ed. Susie Day. Morrisville, NC: Linen Vail Books/Lulu, 2006.
- Gileadi, Avraham, ed. *The Literary Message of Isaiah*. New York, NY: Hebraeus Press, 1994.
- . *Isaiah Decoded*. Escondido, CA: Hebraeus Press, 2002.
- . *Studies in the Book of Mormon*. n. p.: Hebron Books, 2005.
- Ginzberg, Louis, ed. *The Legends of the Jews*. 7 vols. Translated by Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1909-1938. Reprint, Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.
- Giorgi, Rosa. *Anges et Démons*. Translated by Dominique Férault. Paris, France: Éditions Hazan, 2003.
- Goldin, Judah, ed. 1955. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan*. *Yale Judaica Series 10*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Goodenough, Erwin Ramsdell. *By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935.
- . *The Problem of Method; Symbols from Jewish Cult*. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period 4, Bollingen Series 37*. New York City, NY: Pantheon Books, 1954.
- . *Symbolism in the Dura Synagogue*. 3 vols. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period 9-11, Bollingen Series 37*. New York City, NY: Pantheon Books, 1964.
- . 1940. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus*. 2nd Revised ed. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1962.
- Gospel Principles*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1997.
- Grant, Heber J. *Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Heber J. Grant*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2002.
- Graulich, Michel. *Myths of Ancient Mexico*. Translated by Bernard R. Ortiz de Montellano and Thelma Ortiz de Montellano. *The Civilization of the American Indian 222*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1997.
- Green, Rosalie, Michael Evans, Christine Bischoff, and Michael Curschmann, eds. *The Hortus Deliciarum of Herrad of Hohenbourg: A Reconstruction*. 2 vols. London, England: Warburg Institute, 1979.
- Greenberg, Moshe. *Ezekiel 21-37: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. *The Anchor Bible 22A*, ed. William F. Albright and David Noel Freedman. New York City, NY: Doubleday, 1997.

- Griggs, C. Wilfred. "The tree of life in ancient cultures." *Ensign* 18, June 1988, 26-31.
- Guénon, René. *Symboles fondamentaux de la Science sacrée*. Paris, France: Gallimard, 1962.
- Guilleux, Alain. *Le Temple de Derr. Une Promenade en Egypte*.
http://alain.guilleux.free.fr/derr/lac_nasser_temple_derr.html. (accessed June 2).
- Gurtner, Daniel M. *The Torn Veil: Matthew's Exposition of the Death of Jesus*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 139, ed. John M. Court. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Hachlili, Rachel. *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum: Origin, Form, and Significance*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 68, ed. John J. Collins and Florentino Garcia Martinez. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2001.
- Hafen, Bruce C. *The Broken Heart*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . *Covenant Hearts: Marriage and the Joy of Human Love*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- Hafen, Bruce C., and Marie K. Hafen. "Crossing thresholds and becoming equal partners." *Ensign* 37, August 2007, 24-29.
- Hafen, Bruce C. "A disciple's journey." In *Brigham Young University 2007-2008 Speeches*, 291-305. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2008.
<http://speeches.byu.edu/reader/reader.php?id=12148>. (accessed September 1, 2009).
- . *Spiritually Anchored in Unsettled Times*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2009.
- Hahn, Scott W. "Christ, Kingdom, and Creation: Davidic Christology and Ecclesiology in Luke-Acts." *Letter and Spirit* 3 (2007): 167-90.
<http://www.scotthahn.com/download/attachment/1931>. (accessed July 2).
- . "The world as wedding." In *Catholic for a Reason IV*, edited by Scott W. Hahn and Regis J. Flaherty, 1-15. Steubenville, OH: Emmaus Road Publishing, 2007.
- Hales, Robert D. *Return: Four Phases of Our Mortal Journey Home*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2010.
- Halford, Mary-Bess. *Lutwin's Eva und Adam: Study - Text - Translation*. Göppingen, Germany: Kümmerle Verlag, 1984.
- Hamblin, William J. "Temple motifs in Jewish mysticism." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 440-76. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- Hamblin, William J., Daniel C. Peterson, and George L. Mitton. "Mormon in the fiery furnace or Loftes Tryk goes to Cambridge." *Review of Books on the Book of Mormon* 6, no. 2 (1994): 3-58.

REFERENCES

- . "Review of John L. Brooke: *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644-1844*." *BYU Studies* 34, no. 4 (1994): 167-81.
- Hamblin, William J., and David Rolph Seely. *Solomon's Temple: Myth and History*. London, England: Thames & Hudson, 2007.
- Hamblin, William J. 1983. "Pre-Islamic Arabian Prophets." In *Mormons and Muslims: Spiritual Foundations and Modern Manifestations*, edited by Spencer J. Palmer. Updated and Revised ed, 135-55. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2002.
- Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1990.
- Hansen, Gerald E., Jr., and Val Brinkerhoff. *Sacred Walls: Learning from Temple Symbols*. Salt Lake City, UT: Covenant Communications, 2009.
- Harrowing of Hell. In *Wikipedia*.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harrowing_of_Hell. (accessed December 26, 2007).
- Hart, David K. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, January 29, 2009.
- Harvey, A. E. *The New English Bible Companion to the New Testament*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Hassett, Maurice M. "Orans (Orante)." In *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, edited by Charles George Hebermann, Edward A. Pace, Condé B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan and John J. Wynne. 15 vols. Vol. 11, 269. New York City, NY: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1913.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=kFosAAAIAAAJ>. (accessed February 1).
- Hatch, Trevan G. *Visions, Manifestations, and Miracles of the Restoration*. Orem, UT: Granite Publishing, 2008.
- Haynes, Stephen R. *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Hayward, Robert. "An Aramaic paradise: Adam and the Garden in the Jewish Aramaic translations of Genesis." Presented at the Temple Studies Group Symposium IV: The Paradisiac Temple—From First Adam to Last, Temple Church, London, England, November 6, 2010.
- Hendel, Ronald S. "Of demigods and the deluge: Toward an interpretation of Genesis 6:1-4." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 106 (1987): 13-26.
- . "Historical context." In *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, edited by Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr and David L. Petersen. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Formation and interpretation of Old Testament Literature 152, eds. Christl M. Maier,

- Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 51-81. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.
- Hennecke, Edgar, and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. "The Acts of Thomas." In *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. 2 vols. Vol. 2, 425-531. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1965.
- . "Apocalypse of Paul." In *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. 2 vols. Vol. 2, 755-98. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1965.
- . "Hymn of the Pearl." In *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher. 2 vols. Vol. 2, 498-504. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1965.
- , eds. *New Testament Apocrypha*. 2 vols. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1965.
- Henry, Matthew. 1706-1714. *Matthew Henry's Commentary on the Whole Bible: Complete and Unabridged in One Volume*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991.
- Herbert, Máire, and Martin McNamara, eds. *Irish Biblical Apocrypha: Selected Texts in Translation*. Edinburgh, Scotland: T & T Clark, 1989.
- Hertz, J. H., ed. *The Soncino Edition of the Pentateuch and Haftorahs (with Hebrew Text, English Translation and Commentary)* 2nd ed. Brooklyn, NY: The Soncino Press, 1970.
- Heschel, Abraham Joshua. 1962, 1965, 1995. *Heavenly Torah as Refracted Through the Generations*. 3 in 1 vols. Translated by Gordon Tucker. New York City, NY: Continuum International, 2007.
- Hilton, Lynn M. 1981. "The hand as a cup in ancient religious worship." In *Discovering Lehi: New Evidence of Lehi and Nephi in Arabia*, edited by Lynn M. Hilton and Hope A. Hilton, 171-77. Springfield, UT: Cedar Fort Incorporated, 1996.
- Hinckley, Gordon B. "Don't drop the ball." *Ensign* 24, November 1994, 46-49.
- Hinckley, Gordon B., Thomas S. Monson, and James E. Faust. "The family: A proclamation to the world. Proclamation of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve presented at the General Relief Society Meeting, September 23, 1995." Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1995.
- Hinckley, Gordon B. "Women of the Church." *Ensign* 26, November 1996, 67-70.
- . *Teachings of Gordon B. Hinckley*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1997.
- . "The great things which God has revealed." *Ensign* 35, May 2005, 80-83.

REFERENCES

- . 1998. "Sunday Morning Session, 4 October 1998." In *Discourses of President Gordon B. Hinckley*. 2 vols. Vol. 1: 1995-1999, 206-13. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- . 2002. "Priesthood Session, 6 April 2002." In *Discourses of President Gordon B. Hinckley*. 2 vols. Vol. 2: 2000-2004, 124-31. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- . 2004. "Sunday Morning Session, 3 October 2004." In *Discourses of President Gordon B. Hinckley*. 2 vols. Vol. 2: 2000-2004, 257-63. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- Hocart, A. M. *Kingship*. London, England: Humphrey Milford, 1927.
- Holland, Jeffrey R. *Christ and the New Covenant: The Messianic Message of the Book of Mormon*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1997.
- . 1988. *Of Souls, Symbols, and Sacraments*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2001.
- The Holy Trinity. In *Department of Modern Languages and Literatures at Rollins College*. http://www.rollins.edu/Foreign_Lang/Russian/trinity.html. (accessed November 16, 2006).
- Holzappel, Richard Neitzel, and David Rolph Seely. *My Father's House: Temple Worship and Symbolism in the New Testament*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1994.
- Hooke, Samuel Henry. *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*. Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1958.
- Hoskisson, Paul Y. "The nišum 'oath' in Mari." In *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies*, edited by Gordon Douglas Young, 203-10. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992.
- Howard, Richard P. *Restoration Scriptures*. Independence, MO: Herald House, 1969.
- Huchel, Frederick M. "The cosmic ring dance of the angels: An early Christian rite of the temple." Presented at the The Temple Studies Group Symposium II, Temple Church, London England, May 30, 2009. <http://www.heavenlyascents.com/2009/06/10/the-cosmic-ring-dance-of-the-angels-the-text-of-frederick-m-huchels-presentation-at-the-uk-temple-studies-group-symposium-ii/>. (accessed June 11).
- . *The Cosmic Ring Dance of the Angels: An Early Christian Rite of the Temple*. North Logan, UT: The Frithurex Press, 2009. <http://www.lulu.com/content/paperback-book/the-cosmic-ring-dance-of-the-angels---softbound/7409216>. (accessed September 21).
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, July 14, 2010.
- Hudson, Valerie M., and Alma Don Sorenson. "Response to Professor Thomas." In *Mormonism in Dialogue with Contemporary Christian Theologies*,

- edited by Donald W. Musser and David L. Paulsen, 323-38. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007.
- Hymns of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985.
- Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, Muhammad. d. 767. *The Making of the Last Prophet: A Reconstruction of the Earliest Biography of Muhammad*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.
- . d. 767. *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah*. Translated by Alfred Guillaume. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Ibn Kathir, Ismail. d. 1373. *Stories of the Prophets*. Translated by Rashad Ahmad Azami. 2nd ed. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar-us-Salam Publications, 2003.
- International Theological Commission. "The hope of salvation for infants who die without being baptized." *Origins: CNS Documentary Service (Washington, DC: Catholic News Service)* 36, no. 45 (26 April 2007): 725-46.
- Irenaeus. ca. 150-200. "Against Heresies." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325)*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. Vol. 1, 315-567. Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1885. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- Isar, Nicoletta. "The dance of Adam: Reconstructing the Byzantine *choros*." *Byzantino-Slavica: Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines* 61 (2003): 179-204.
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, February 8, 2009.
- Isenberg, Wesley W. "The Gospel of Philip (II, 3)." In *The Nag Hammadi Library*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed, 139-60. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
- Jackson, Kent P., and Peter M. Jasinski. "The process of inspired translation: Two passages translated twice in the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible." *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 35-64.
- Jackson, Kent P. *The Book of Moses and the Joseph Smith Translation Manuscripts*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2005.
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 21 August, 2006.
- . E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 6 July, 2006.
- Jacobson, Howard, ed. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 1996.
- James, E. O. "Initiatory rituals." In *Myth and Ritual*, edited by Samuel Henry Hooke, 147-71. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1933.

REFERENCES

- James, Montague Rhodes, ed. 1924. *The Apocryphal New Testament*. Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1983.
- . 1924. "The Gospel of Bartholomew." In *The Apocryphal New Testament*, edited by Montague Rhodes James, 166-81. Oxford, England: The Clarendon Press, 1983.
- James, William. 1897. "The will to believe." In *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy*. New Impression ed, 1-31. London, England: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1912.
- https://books.google.com/books/about/The_Will_to_Believe.html?id=Moqh7ktHaJEC. (accessed July 3, 2015).
- Jellinek, Adolph, ed. *Bet ha-Midrash. Sammlung kleiner midraschim und vermischter Abhandlungen aus der ältern jüdischen Literatur*. 6 vols. Vol. 4. Leipzig, Germany: C. W. Vollrath, 1857.
- Jensen, Marlin K. "Gospel doctrines: Anchors to our souls." 38, October 2008, 58-61.
- Jessee, Dean C. "The writing of Joseph Smith's history." *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 439-73.
- . 1969. "The earliest documented accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision." In *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820-1844*, edited by John W. Welch and Erick B. Carlson, 1-33. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2005.
- Johnson, Aubrey R. *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*. Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 1955. Reprint, Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2006.
- Johnson, Mark J. "The lost prologue: Moses chapter one and the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible as ancient text." Unpublished article in the possession of the author. 2006.
- Joines, Karen Randolph. "Winged serpents in Isaiah's inaugural vision." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86, no. 4 (1967): 410-15.
- Jolly, Penny Howell. *Made in God's Image? Eve and Adam in the Genesis Mosaics at San Marco, Venice*. *California Studies in the History of Art, Discovery Series* 4, ed. Walter Horn and James Marrow. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997.
- Jones, Dan. 1847. *History of the Latter-day Saints, from Their Establishment in the Year 1823, to the Time When Three Hundred Thousand of Them Were Exiled from America Because of Their Religion in the Year 1846*. Translated by Ronald D. Dennis. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 2008.
- Jones, Gerald E. "Apocryphal literature and the Latter-day Saints." In *Apocryphal Writings and the Latter-day Saints*, edited by C. Wilfred Griggs. Religious Studies Monograph Series 13, 19-33. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1986.

- Josephus, Flavius. 37-ca. 97. "The Antiquities of the Jews." In *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian. Translated from the Original Greek, according to Havercamp's Accurate Edition*. Translated by William Whiston, 23-426. London, England: W. Bowyer, 1737. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1980.
- . 37-ca. 97. "The Wars of the Jews." In *The Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus, the Jewish Historian. Translated from the Original Greek, according to Havercamp's Accurate Edition*. Translated by William Whiston, 427-605. London, England: W. Bowyer, 1737. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1980.
- Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Joyce, Paul M. *Ezekiel: A Commentary. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 482*, ed. Claudia V. Camp and Andrew Mein. London, England: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Kass, Leon R. *The Beginning of Wisdom: Reading Genesis*. New York City, NY: Free Press, Simon and Schuster, 2003.
- Kastler, Esthi. 2006. Commentaire du texte de Genèse 2.4b à 4.26. In *Études bibliques*, Fédération protestante de France.
<http://www.protestants.org/etudes-bibliques/genese/etude.htm>. (accessed August 25, 2007).
- Kearney, Peter J. "Creation and liturgy: The P redaction of Exodus 25-40." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 89, no. 3 (1977): 375-87.
- Kee, Howard C. "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. Vol. 1, 775-828. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Keener, Craig S. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003.
- . *The Gospel of Matthew: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2009.
- Khalidi, Tarif, ed. *The Muslim Jesus: Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature. Convergences: Inventories of the Present*, ed. Edward E. Said. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Kimball, Spencer W. "The blessings and responsibilities of womanhood." *Ensign* 6, March 1976, 70-73.
- . "Our great potential." *Ensign* 7, May 1977, 49-51.
- . *The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1982.
- Kimball, Spencer W., N. Eldon Tanner, and Marion G. Romney. 1978. "Statement of the First Presidency: God's Love for All Mankind (February 15, 1978), excerpted in S. J. Palmer article on 'World Religions, Overview'." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow. 4 vols. Vol. 4,

REFERENCES

1589. New York City, NY: Macmillan, 1992.
<http://www.lib.byu.edu/Macmillan/>. (accessed November 26).
- Kimball, Stanley B. 1981. *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer*. Illini Books ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- King, Arthur Henry. "Afterword." In *Feasting Upon the Word*, edited by Dennis Packard and Sandra Packard, 229-37. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1981.
- . 1971. "An Account of My Conversion." In *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*, edited by Daryl Hague, 27-53. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1998.
- . 1971. "The Child is Father to the Man." In *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*, edited by Daryl Hague, 101-19. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1998.
- . 1971. "Rhetoric." In *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*, edited by Daryl Hague, 199-215. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1998.
- . 1992. "Education in the home." In *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*, edited by Daryl Hague, 229-48. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1998.
- . 1992. "Joseph Smith as a Writer." In *Arm the Children: Faith's Response to a Violent World*, edited by Daryl Hague, 285-93. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1998.
- Klijn, A. F. J. "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 615-52. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Knibb, Michael A. "Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 2, 143-76. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Koester, Craig R. *Symbolism in the Fourth Gospel: Meaning, Mystery, Community*. 2nd ed. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2003.
- Koester, Helmut, and Thomas O. Lambdin. "The Gospel of Thomas (II, 2)." In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed, 124-38. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
- Koltun-Fromm, Naomi. "Aphrahat and the rabbis on Noah's righteousness in light of the Jewish-Christian polemic." In *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation*, edited by Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay. *Traditio Exegetica Graeca*, vol. 5, 57-71. Louvain, Belgium: Editions Peeters, 1997.
- Kraeling, Carl H., C. C. Torrey, C. B. Welles, and B. Geiger. *The Synagogue. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the*

- French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters: Final Report VIII, Part I*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1956.
- Kraft, Robert A., ed. *The Testament of Job According to the SV Text. Texts and Translations 5, Pseudepigrapha Series 4*. Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars' Press, 1974.
- . "The pseudepigrapha in Christianity." In *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, edited by John C. Reeves, 55-86. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994.
- Kren, Emil, and Daniel Marx. n.d. The Ghent Altarpiece: The offering of Abel and Cain. In *Web Gallery of Art*. http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/html/e/eyck_van/jan/09ghent/1open1/u2cain.html. (accessed August 26, 2006).
- Kugel, James L. "Some instances of biblical interpretation in the hymns and wisdom writings of Qumran." In *Studies in Ancient Midrash*, edited by James L. Kugel, 155-69. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Kulik, Alexander. *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*. *Text-Critical Studies* 3, ed. James R. Adair, Jr. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004.
- L'Orange, H. P. *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzas Brothers and Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, 1982.
- Lachs, Samuel Tobias. *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke*. Hoboken, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 1987.
- LaCocque, André. *The Trial of Innocence: Adam, Eve, and the Yahwist*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2006.
- . *The Captivity of Innocence: Babel and the Yahwist*. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010.
- Larsen, David J. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 2 June, 2010.
- . "Slight update...." E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 3 June, 2010.
- . "Enoch and the City of Zion: Can an entire community ascend to heaven?" *BYU Studies* 53, no. 1 (2014): 25-37.
- Larsen, David J., and Jeffrey M. Bradshaw. "The vision of Moses as a heavenly ascent: New light from the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." (in preparation).
- Leder, Arie C. "The coherence of Exodus: Narrative unity and meaning." *Calvin Theological Journal* 36 (2001): 251-69.
http://faculty.gordon.edu/hu/bi/ted_hildebrandt/otesources/02-exodus/Text/Articles/Leder-ExodusCoherence-CTJ.pdf. (accessed July 2).
- Lee, Harold B. *The Teachings of Harold B. Lee*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1996.

- Levenson, Jon D. "The temple and the world." *The Journal of Religion* 64, no. 3 (1984): 275-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1202664>. (accessed July 2).
- Levine, Amy-Jill, and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds. *The Jewish Annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Levine, Baruch A. *Leviticus. The JPS Torah Commentary*, ed. Nahum M. Sarna and Chaim Potok. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- Levine, Lee I. 1998. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. 2nd ed. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Lewis, C. S. 1943. "Three kinds of men." In *Present Concerns: Essays by C. S. Lewis*, edited by Walter Hooper, 21-22. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.
- . 1955. "De Descriptione Temporum'." In *Selected Literary Essays*, edited by Walter Hooper, 1-14. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Lichtheim, Miriam. 1973. "'The Memphite Theology'." In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, edited by Miriam Lichtheim. 3 vols. Vol. 1, 51-57. Berkeley, CA: The University of California Press, 2006.
- Lidzbarski, Mark, ed. *Ginza: Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer. Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, der Reihenfolge des Erscheinens 13:4*. Göttingen and Leipzig, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1925.
- Liebman, Laura. Gravestone symbols: The hand of God. In *Early American Graveyard Rabbits*. <http://colonialgyrabbitt.blogspot.com/2010/03/gravestone-symbols-hand-of-god.html>. (accessed July 30, 2010).
- Lipscomb, W. Lowndes, ed. *The Armenian Apocryphal Literature. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies* 8, ed. Michael E. Stone. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, 1990.
- Lourié, Basil. "Review of A. Kulik's *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*." *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* 15, no. 3 (2006): 229-37.
- Louth, Andrew, and Marco Conti, eds. *Genesis 1-11. Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament 1*, ed. Thomas C. Oden. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2001.
- Lowy, Simeon. *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis. Studia Post-Biblica* 28, ed. J. C. H. Lebram. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1977.
- Ludlow, Jared W. "Abraham's visions of the heavens." In *Astronomy, Papyrus, and Covenant*, edited by John Gee and Brian M. Hauglid. Studies in the Book of Abraham 3, 57-73. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Brigham Young University, 2005.

<http://farms.byu.edu/publications/books/?bookid=40&chapid=164>.
(accessed October 10).

- Lundquist, John M. "What is reality?" In *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, edited by John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 428-38. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990.
- . *The Temple: Meeting Place of Heaven and Earth*. London, England: Thames and Hudson, 1993.
- . "Fundamentals of temple ideology from Eastern traditions." In *Reason, Revelation, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, edited by Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson and Stephen D. Ricks, 651-701. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002.
- . *The Temple of Jerusalem: Past, Present, and Future*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008.
- Lupieri, Edmondo. 1993. *The Mandaean: The Last Gnostics. Italian Texts and Studies on Religion and Society*, ed. Edmondo Lupieri. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2002.
- MacRae, George W., and Douglas M. Parrott. "The Apocalypse of Adam (V, 5)." In *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, edited by James M. Robinson. 3rd, Completely Revised ed, 277-86. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 1990.
- Madsen, Truman G. *Joseph Smith the Prophet*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1989.
- . "'Putting on the names': A Jewish-Christian legacy." In *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh W. Nibley*, edited by John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 458-81. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990.
- . "The Latter-day Saint view of human nature." In *On Human Nature: The Jerusalem Center Symposium*, edited by Truman G. Madsen, David Noel Freedman and Pam Fox Kuhlken, 95-107. Ann Arbor, MI: Pryor Pettengill Publishers, 2004.
- . "Nine reasons for learning to learn." In *A Twenty-Something's Guide to Spirituality: Questions You Hesitate to Ask, Answers You Rarely Hear*, edited by Jacob Werrett and David Read, 95-118. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2007.
- . *The Sacrament: Feasting at the Lord's Table*. Orem, UT: Amalphi Publishing, 2008.
- . 1983. "Purposes of the temple." In *The Temple: Where Heaven Meets Earth*, 90-99. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . 1994. "In a place called Gethsemane." In *Five Classics by Truman G. Madsen*, 299-306. Salt Lake City, UT: Eagle Gate, 2001.

REFERENCES

- Magness, Jodi. "Heaven on earth: Helios and the zodiac cycle in ancient Palestinian synagogues." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005): 1-52.
- Maher, Michael, ed. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Genesis*. Vol. 1b. *Aramaic Bible*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992.
- Major, John S. *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought: Chapters Three, Four, and Five of the Huainanzi*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- Malan, Solomon Caesar, ed. *The Book of Adam and Eve: Also Called The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan: A Book of the Early Eastern Church. Translated from the Ethiopic, with Notes from the Kufale, Talmud, Midrashim, and Other Eastern Works*. London, England: Williams and Norgate, 1882. Reprint, San Diego, CA: The Book Tree, 2005.
- Marden, Orison Swett. *The Architects of Fate, or Steps to Success and Power*. Boston, MA: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1895.
- Margueron, Jean-Claude. "La peinture de l'investiture et l'histoire de la cour 106." In *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en passant par Mari: Mélanges offerts à Monsieur J.-R. Kupper à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire*, edited by Önhan Tunca, 115-25. Liège, Belgium: Université de Liège, 1990.
- Marshall, Evelyn T. "Garments." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow. 4 vols. Vol. 2, 534-35. New York City, NY: Macmillan, 1992. <http://www.lib.byu.edu/Macmillan/>. (accessed November 26).
- Martin, Richard C., ed. *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*. 2 vols. New York, City, NY: Macmillan Reference USA, Gale Group, Thomson Learning, 2004.
- Martinez, Florentino Garcia. "11QMelchizedek (11Q13 [11QMelch])." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez. 2nd ed. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, 139-40. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996.
- . "The Book of Giants (4Q203)." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez. 2nd ed. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, 260-61. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996.
- , ed. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* 2nd ed. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996.
- . "Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar)." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, edited by Florentino Garcia Martinez. 2nd ed. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson, 230-37. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1996.
- Mathews, Edward G., Jr. "The Armenian commentary on Genesis attributed to Ephrem the Syrian." In *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental*

- Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*, edited by Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay. *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 5, 143-61. Louvain, Belgium: Editions Peeters, 1997.
- Matt, Daniel C., ed. *The Zohar, Pritzker Edition*. Vol. 1. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Matthews, Robert J. "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible—A History and Commentary*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1975.
- . "The probationary nature of mortality." In *Alma: "The Testimony of the Word."* *Papers from the Sixth Annual Book of Mormon Symposium, 1991*, edited by Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr. *Book of Mormon Symposia* 6, 47-60. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992. Reprint, Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2008.
- Maxwell, Neal A. *Wherefore, Ye Must Press Forward*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1977.
- . "Deny yourselves of all ungodliness." *Ensign* 25, May 1995, 66-68.
- . *The Neal A. Maxwell Quote Book*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1997.
- . "Our Creator's Cosmos." Presented at the Church Educational System Conference on the Doctrine and Covenants and Church History, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, August 13, 2002, 2002, 1-8.
- . 1992. "The inexhaustible gospel (BYU Devotional, August 18, 1992)." In *The Inexhaustible Gospel: A Retrospective of Twenty-One Firesides and Devotionals at Brigham Young University 1974-2004*, 211-25. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 2004.
- McBride, Matthew. *A House for the Most High: The Story of the Original Nauvoo Temple*. Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2007.
- McConkie, Bruce R. *Mormon Doctrine*. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . "Obedience, consecration, and sacrifice." *Ensign* 5, May 1975, 50-52.
- . *The Promised Messiah: The First Coming of Christ. The Messiah Series 1*, ed. Bruce R. McConkie. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1978.
- . "Eve and the Fall." In *Woman*, 57-68. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1979.
- . *The Mortal Messiah: From Bethlehem to Calvary*. 4 vols. *The Messiah Series 2-5*, ed. Bruce R. McConkie. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1979-1981.
- . "Christ and the creation." *Ensign* 12, June 1982, 8-15.
- . *A New Witness for the Articles of Faith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1985.
- . *Doctrines of the Restoration: Sermons and Writings of Bruce R. McConkie*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1989.

REFERENCES

- McConkie, Joseph Fielding. "Premortal existence, foreordinations, and heavenly councils." In *Apocryphal Writings and the Latter-day Saints*, edited by C. Wilfred Griggs, 173-98. Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1986.
- McConkie, Joseph Fielding, and Craig J. Ostler, eds. *Revelations of the Restoration: A Commentary on the Doctrine and Covenants and Other Modern Revelations*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2000.
- McGuire, Benjamin L. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 17 March, 2014.
- McKane, William. 1994. Matthew Black. In *Obituaries of Past Fellows, Royal Society of Edinburgh*.
http://www.royalsoced.org.uk/cms/files/fellows/obits_alpha/black_matthew.pdf. (accessed April 3, 2013).
- McKay, David O. *Cherished Experiences from the Writings of David O. McKay*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1955.
- . *Treasures of Life*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1962.
- McKinlay, Lynn A. "Patriarchal order of the Priesthood." In *The Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow. 4 vols. Vol. 3, 1067. New York City, NY: Macmillan, 1992. <http://www.lib.byu.edu/Macmillan/>. (accessed November 26).
- Mead, George Robert Shaw, ed. 1921. *Pistis Sophia: The Gnostic Tradition of Mary Magdalene, Jesus, and His Disciples (Askew Codex)*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2005.
- Meeks, Wayne A. "Moses as God and King." In *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, edited by Jacob Neusner. Religions in Antiquity, Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to Numen) 14, 354-71. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1968.
- Mettinger, Tryggve N. D. *The Eden Narrative: A Literary and Religio-historical Study of Genesis 2-3*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.
- Miasnik, Christopher. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 8 February, 2010.
- Migne, Jacques P. "Livre d'Adam." In *Dictionnaire des Apocryphes, ou, Collection de tous les livres Apocryphes relatifs à l'Ancien et au Nouveau Testament, pour la plupart, traduits en français, pour la première fois, sur les textes originaux, enrichie de préfaces, dissertations critiques, notes historiques, bibliographiques, géographiques et théologiques*, edited by Jacques P. Migne. Migne, Jacques P. ed. 2 vols. Vol. 1. Troisième et Dernière Encyclopédie Théologique 23, 1-290. Paris, France: Migne, Jacques P., 1856. <http://books.google.com/books?id=daUAAAAAMAAJ>. (accessed October 17, 2012).
- Mika'el, Bakhayla. ca. 1400. "The book of the mysteries of the heavens and the earth." In *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bakhayla Mika'el (Zosimas)*, edited by E. A. Wallis Budge,

- 1-96. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1934. Reprint, Berwick, ME: Ibis Press, 2004.
- . ca. 1400. *The Book of the Mysteries of the Heavens and the Earth and Other Works of Bakhayla Mika'el (Zosimas)*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1934. Reprint, Berwick, ME: Ibis Press, 2004.
- Millet, Robert L. "The Book of Mormon, historicity, and faith." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 2, no. 2 (1993): 1-13.
- Milstein, Rachel. "The stories and their illustrations." In *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-Anbiya*, edited by Rachel Milstein, Karin Rühdanz and Barbara Schmitz. Islamic Art and Architecture Series 8, eds. Abbas Daneshvari, Robert Hillenbrand and Bernard O'Kane, 105-83. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999.
- Milstein, Rachel, Karin Rühdanz, and Barbara Schmitz. *Stories of the Prophets: Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al-Anbiya. Islamic Art and Architecture Series 8*, ed. Abbas Daneshvari, Robert Hillenbrand and Bernard O'Kane. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1999.
- Milton, John. 1667. "Paradise Lost." In *Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, Samson Agonistes*, edited by Harold Bloom, 15-257. London, England: Collier, 1962.
- Monneret, Jean-Luc. *Les Grands Thèmes du Coran*. Paris, France: Éditions Dervy, 2003.
- Moon, Warren G. "Nudity and narrative: Obserations on the frescoes from the Dura synagogue." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60, no. 4 (Winter 1992): 587-658.
- Moore, Richard G. *A Comparative Look at Mormonism and the Community of Christ. Know Your Religions 2*. Orem, UT: Millennial Press, 2009.
- Mopsik, Charles, ed. *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des Palais. Les Dix Paroles*, ed. Charles Mopsik. Lagrasse, France: Éditions Verdier, 1989.
- Morray-Jones, Christopher R. A. "Transformational mysticism in the apocalyptic-merkabah tradition." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 1-31.
- . "The body of the glory: Approaching the New Testament from the perspective of Shiur Koma traditions." In *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, edited by Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones. Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 12, eds. Pieter Willem van der Horst and Peter J. Tomson, 501-610. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009.
- . "Divine names, celestial sanctuaries, and visionary ascents: Approaching the New Testament from the perspective of Merkava traditions." In *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, edited by Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones. Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 12, eds. Pieter Willem van

REFERENCES

- der Horst and Peter J. Tomson, 219-498. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009.
- Morrow, Jeff. "Creation as temple-building and work as liturgy in Genesis 1-3." *Journal of the Orthodox Center for the Advancement of Biblical Studies (JOCABS)* 2, no. 1 (2009).
<http://www.ocabs.org/journal/index.php/jocabs/article/viewFile/43/18>.
 (accessed July 2, 2010).
- Mowinckel, Sigmund. 1962. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*. 2 vols. *The Biblical Resource Series*, ed. Astrid B. Beck and David Noel Freedman. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Muggeridge, Malcolm. *Jesus: The Man Who Lives*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.
- Müller, F. Max. "Bundahis." In *Pahlavi Texts: The Bundahis, Bahman Yast, and Shayast La-Shayast (including Selections of Zad-spāram)*, edited by F. Max Müller. 5 vols. Vol. 1. Translated by E. W. West. The Sacred Books of the East 5, ed. F. Max Müller, 1-151. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1880. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2004.
- Munoa, Philip B. *Four Powers in Heaven: The Interpretation of Daniel 7 in the Testament of Abraham*. *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series* 28, ed. Lester L. Grabbe and James H. Charlesworth. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.
- Murphy, G. Ronald. *Gemstone of Paradise: The Holy Grail in Wolfram's Parzival*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Murphy, Roland. "Israel's Wisdom: Dialogue between the Sages." In *Light in a Spotless Mirror: Reflections on Wisdom Traditions in Judaism and Early Christianity*, edited by James H. Charlesworth and Michael A. Daise, 7-25. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2003.
- Murray, Robert. 1975. *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*. Revised ed. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2004.
- Nadauld, Stephen D. *Principles of Priesthood Leadership*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1999.
- Neusner, Jacob, ed. *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis, A New American Translation*. 3 vols. Vol. 2: Parashiyyot Thirty-Four through Sixty-Seven on Genesis 8:15-28:9. *Brown Judaic Studies* 105, ed. Jacob Neusner. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- , ed. *Genesis Rabbah: The Judaic Commentary to the Book of Genesis, A New American Translation*. 3 vols. Vol. 1: Parashiyyot One through Thirty-Three on Genesis 1:1 to 8:14. *Brown Judaic Studies* 104, ed. Jacob Neusner. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985.
- , ed. *The Mishnah: A New Translation*. London, England: Yale University Press, 1988.

- Newby, Gordon Darnell. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*. Oxford, England: Oneworld Publications, 2002.
- Nibley, Hugh. 1979. "A conversation with Hugh Nibley." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 51-72. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . 1981. "Foreword to Learn Greek through the New Testament." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 111-13. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- Nibley, Hugh W. "A New Look at the Pearl of Great Price." *Improvement Era* 1968-1970. Reprint, Provo, UT: FARMS, Brigham Young University, 1990.
- . "To open the last dispensation: Moses chapter 1." In *Nibley on the Timely and the Timeless: Classic Essays of Hugh W. Nibley*, edited by Truman G. Madsen, 1-20. Provo, UT: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1978. <http://farms.byu.edu/publications/transcripts/?id=71>. (accessed October 10).
- . "The facsimiles of the Book of Abraham." *Sunstone* 4, no. 5/6 (December 1979): 49-51.
- . "The Three Facsimiles from the Book of Abraham." Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 1980. <http://www.boap.org/LDS/Hugh-Nibley/TrFac.html>. (accessed May 20, 2011).
- . *Enoch the Prophet. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley* 2. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . "But what kind of work?" In *Approaching Zion*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 252-89. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . "The circle and the square." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 139-73. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . "On the sacred and the symbolic." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 535-621. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994. Reprint, Nibley, Hugh W. "On the Sacred and the Symbolic." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 340-419. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . "Assembly and atonement." In *King Benjamin's Speech: 'That Ye May Learn Wisdom'*, edited by John W. Welch and Stephen D. Ricks, 119-45. Provo, UT: FARMS, 1998. Reprint, Nibley, Hugh W. "Assembly and

REFERENCES

- Atonement." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 420-444. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . "Abraham's temple drama." In *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, 1-42. Provo, UT: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 1999. Reprint, Nibley, Hugh W. "Abraham's temple drama." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 445-482. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- Nibley, Hugh W., and Michael D. Rhodes. *One Eternal Round. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 19*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2010.
- Nibley, Hugh W. 1951. "The hierocentric state." In *The Ancient State*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 10, 99-147. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1991.
- . 1954. "The ancient law of liberty." In *The World and the Prophets*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 3, 182-90. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1987.
- . 1965. "The expanding gospel." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by D.E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 177-211. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . 1966. "Evangelium Quadraginta Dierum: The Forty-day Mission of Christ—The Forgotten Heritage." In *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, edited by Todd M. Compton and Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 4, 10-44. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1987.
- . 1967. "Unrolling the scrolls—some forgotten witnesses." In *Old Testament and Related Studies*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 1, 115-70. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . 1967. *Since Cumorah*. 2nd ed. *The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 7*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), 1988.
- . 1967. "Apocryphal writings and the teachings of the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 264-335. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . 1968-1979. *An Approach to the Book of Abraham. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 18*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), 2009.
- . 1971. "Myths and the scriptures." In *Old Testament and Related Studies*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The

- Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 1, 37-47. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . 1972. "Man's dominion or subduing the earth." In *Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints*, edited by Don E. Norton and Shirley S. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 13, 3-22. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . 1973. "Treasures in the heavens." In *Old Testament and Related Studies*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 1, 171-214. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . 1975. "Zeal without knowledge." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 63-84. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1975. "The meaning of the temple." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 1-41. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . 1975. "Sacred vestments." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 91-138. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . 1975. *The Message of the Joseph Smith Papyri: An Egyptian Endowment*. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2005.
- . 1978. "The early Christian prayer circle." In *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, edited by Todd M. Compton and Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 4, 45-99. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1987.
- . 1979. "Gifts." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by D.E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 85-117. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1980. "Before Adam." In *Old Testament and Related Studies*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 1, 49-85. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . 1980. "Patriarchy and matriarchy." In *Old Testament and Related Studies*, edited by John W. Welch, Gary P. Gillum and Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 1, 87-113. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- . 1980. "How firm a foundation! What makes it so." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by D.E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 149-77. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1981. *Abraham in Egypt. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 14*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2000.

REFERENCES

- . 1982. "The prophetic Book of Mormon." In *The Prophetic Book of Mormon*, edited by John W. Welch. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 8, 435-69. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1982. "Work we must, but the lunch is free." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 202-51. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1984. "We will still weep for Zion." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 341-77. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1985. "Scriptural perspectives on how to survive the calamities of the last days." In *The Prophetic Book of Mormon*, edited by John W. Welch. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 8, 470-97. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1986. "The law of consecration." In *Approaching Zion*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 9, 422-86. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
- . 1986. "Return to the temple." In *Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present*, edited by Don E. Norton. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 12, 42-90. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1992.
- . 1986. *Teachings of the Pearl of Great Price*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS), Brigham Young University, 2004.
- . 1986. "The greatness of Egypt." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 271-311. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . 1993. "A house of glory." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 323-39. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- . 1999. "Temples Everywhere." *Insights: The Newsletter of the Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies (FARMS) at Brigham Young University* 25, no. 1 (2005): 10-16. Reprint, Nibley, Hugh W. "Temples everywhere." In *Eloquent Witness: Nibley on Himself, Others, and the Temple*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks. The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley 17, 483-500. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- Nichols, Beverley. *The Queen's Coronation Day: The Pictorial Record of the Great Occasion*. Andover, UK: Pitkin Unichrome, 1953.
- Nicholson, Roger. "The Cowdery conundrum: Oliver's aborted attempt to describe Joseph Smith's First Vision in 1834 and 1835." *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 8 (2014): 27-44.

- Nickelsburg, George W. E., ed. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2001.
- . *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2003.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E., and James C. VanderKam, eds. *1 Enoch: A New Translation*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2004.
- , eds. *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 37-82. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2012.
- Noah, Mordecai M., ed. 1840. *The Book of Jasher*. Translated by Moses Samuel. Salt Lake City, UT: Joseph Hyrum Parry, 1887. Reprint, New York City, NY: Cosimo Classics, 2005.
- Nolland, John. *The Gospel of Matthe. The New International Greek Testament Commentary*, ed. I. Howard Marshall and Donald A. Hagner. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Norman, V. Garth. *Izapa Sculpture, Part 2: Text. Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation 30*. Provo, UT: New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University, 1976.
<http://contentdm.lib.byu.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/NWAF&CISOPTR=8921&REC=14>. (accessed February 9).
- Novickij (Novitskii), P. P. *Откровение Авраама (Otkrovenie Avraama)* (Facsimile edition of the Codex Sylvester). Vol. 99:2. *Общество любителей древней письменности (Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti)*. St. Petersburg, Russia: A. F. Markova, 1891. Reprint, Obshchestvo liubitelei drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva, Leningrad, Russia, 1967. <http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/spart1.pdf>. (accessed June 18).
- O'Reilly, Jennifer. "The trees of Eden in mediaeval iconography." In *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*, edited by Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 136, eds. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies, 167-204. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1992.
- Oaks, Dallin H. "Taking upon us the name of Jesus Christ." *Ensign* 15, May 1985, 80-83.
- . "The great plan of happiness." *Ensign* 23, November 1993, 72-75.
- . "The challenge to become." *Ensign* 30, November 2000, 32-34.
- . "Preparing for the Second Coming." *Ensign* 34, May 2004, 7-10.
- . "The keys and authority of the priesthood." *Ensign* 44, May 2014.
<https://www.lds.org/ensign/2014/05/priesthood-session/the-keys-and-authority-of-the-priesthood?lang=eng>. (accessed April 26, 2014).

REFERENCES

- Odell, Margaret. *Ezekiel. Smyth and Helwys Bible Commenary*. Macon, GA: Smyth and Helwys, 2005.
- Oden, Robert A., Jr. "Divine aspirations in Atrahasis and in Genesis 1-11." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 93 (1981): 197-216.
- Oesterley, William Oscar Emil. "Early Hebrew festival rituals." In *Myth and Ritual*, edited by Samuel Henry Hooke, 111-46. London, England: Oxford University Press, 1933.
- Ogden, D. Kelly, and Andrew C. Skinner. *The Four Gospels*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2006.
- Olson, Camille Fronk. *Women of the Old Testament*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2009.
- Orlov, Andrei A. "On the polemical nature of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A reply to C. Böttrich." *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 34 (2003): 274-303.
- . "Resurrection of Adam's body: The redeeming role of Enoch-Metatron in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*." Presented at the American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism Group, Atlanta, GA, November 24, 2003.
<http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/oil.html>. (accessed June 18).
- . *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* 107. Tübingen, Germany Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- . "'The gods of my father Terah': Abraham the iconoclast and the polemics with the divine body traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18, no. 1 (2008): 33-53. Reprint, Orlov, Andrei A. "'The gods of my father Terah': Abraham the iconoclast and the polemics with the divine body traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." In *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, edited by Andrei A. Orlov, *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* 2, 217-235. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- . "Praxis of the voice: The divine name traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127, no. 1 (2008): 53-70. Reprint, Orlov, Andrei A. "Praxis of the voice: The divine name traditions in the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." In *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, edited by Andrei A. Orlov, *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* 2, 155-175. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- . "The pteromorphic angelology of the *Apocalypse of Abraham*." In *Divine Manifestations in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, edited by Andrei A. Orlov. *Orientalia Judaica Christiana* 2, 203-15. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009.
- Ostler, Blake T. "Clothed upon: A unique aspect of Christian antiquity." *BYU Studies* 22, no. 1 (1981): 1-15.

- . "The Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion of an Ancient Source." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 66-123.
- . 2005. Updating the expansion theory. In *Times and Seasons*. <http://timesandseasons.org/index.php/2005/04/updating-the-expansion-theory/>. (accessed March 12, 2014).
- Ouaknin, Marc-Alain, and Éric Smilévitch, eds. 1983. *Chapitres de Rabbi Éliézer (Pirqué de Rabbi Éliézer): Midrach sur Genèse, Exode, Nombres, Esther. Les Dix Paroles*, ed. Charles Mopsik. Lagrasse, France: Éditions Verdier, 1992.
- Ouspensky, Leonid, and Vladimir Lossky. *The Meaning of Icons*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999.
- Packard, Dennis, and Sandra Packard. *Feasting Upon the Word*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1981.
- Packer, Boyd K. *The Holy Temple*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1980.
- . "Scriptures." *Ensign* 12, November 1982, 51-53.
- . "Little Children." *Ensign* 16, November 1986, 16-18.
- . "The great plan of happiness." Presented at the Seventeenth Annual Church Educational System Religious Educators' Symposium on the Doctrine and Covenants/Church History, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT, August 10, 1993, 1-7. http://ldscs.org/general_authority_talks/bkp.The_Great_Plan_of_Happiness.1993.pdf. (accessed August 24, 2008).
- . "Personal revelation: The gift, the test, and the promise." *Ensign* 24 1994, 59-62.
- . "Do not fear." *Ensign* 34, May 2004, 77-80.
- . *Mine Errand from the Lord: Selections from the Sermons and Writings of Boyd K. Packer*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- Pagels, Elaine. 1988. *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*. New York City, NY: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Palmer, Spencer J., ed. *The Expanding Church*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1978.
- Parrot, André. *Mari capitale fabuleuse*. Paris, France: Payot, 1974.
- Parry, Donald W. "Temple worship and a possible reference to a prayer circle in Psalm 24." *BYU Studies* 32, no. 4 (1992): 57-62.
- . "Garden of Eden: Prototype sanctuary." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 126-51. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Service and temple in King Benjamin's speech." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 16, no. 2 (2007): 42-47.
- Parry, Jay A., and Donald W. Parry. "The temple in heaven: Its description and significance." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 515-32. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.

REFERENCES

- Petersen, Boyd Jay. *Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life*. Draper, UT: Greg Kofford Books, 2002.
- Peterson, Daniel C. "Nephi and his Asherah: A note on 1 Nephi 11:8-23." In *Mormons, Scripture, and the Ancient World: Studies in Honor of John L. Sorenson*, edited by Davis Bitton, 191-243. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1998.
- . "Nephi and his Asherah." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 9, no. 2 (2000): 16-25.
- . "Muhammad." In *The Rivers of Paradise: Moses, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, and Muhammad as Religious Founders*, edited by David Noel Freedman and Michael J. McClymond, 457-612. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2001.
- . "On the motif of the weeping God in Moses 7." In *Reason, Revelation, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, edited by Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson and Stephen D. Ricks, 285-317. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002.
- . "The Qur'anic tree of life." Presented at the BYU Tree of Life Symposium, Provo, UT, September 29, 2006.
- Peterson, H. Donl. *The Story of the Book of Abraham: Mummies, Manuscripts, and Mormonism*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1995.
- Philo. b. 20 BCE. "On Dreams." In *Philo*, edited by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. Revised ed. 12 vols. Vol. 5. Translated by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker. The Loeb Classical Library 275, 283-579. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.
- . b. 20 BCE. *Philo Supplement 2 (Questions on Exodus)*. Translated by Ralph Marcus. *The Loeb Classical Library 401*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- . b. 20 BCE. "The special laws, 1 (De specialibus legibus, 1)." In *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, edited by C. D. Yonge. New Updated ed. Translated by C. D. Yonge, 534-67. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006.
- Piazza, Tom. 2003. The Devil gets the best lines. In *Criterion Collection Essay*. <http://www.criterionco.com>. (accessed October 21, 2006).
- Polen, Nehemia. "Leviticus and Hebrews... and Leviticus." In *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology*, edited by Richard Bauckham, Daniel R. Driver, Trevor A. Hart and Nathan MacDonald, 213-25. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009.
- . http://books.google.com/books?id=N_jDnh8qMFMC. (accessed July 2).
- Porter, Bruce H., and Stephen D. Ricks. "Names in antiquity: Old, new, and hidden." In *By Study and Also by Faith*, edited by John M. Lundquist and

- Stephen D. Ricks. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 501-22. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990.
- Porter, Joshua Roy. 1995. *The Illustrated Guide to the Bible*. New York City, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Potter, George, and Richard Wellington. *Lehi in the Wilderness*. Springville, UT: Cedar Fort, 2003.
- Pratt, Orson. "The Seer." 1853-1854. Reprint, Orem, UT: Grandin Book Company, 1994.
- . 1880. "Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Sunday Afternoon, 18 July 1880." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 21, 286-96. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Pratt, Parley P. 1853. "Heirship and priesthood (10 April 1853)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 1, 256-63. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Pritchard, James B. "The God and his unknown name of power." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James B. Pritchard, 12-14. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- , ed. 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* 3rd with Supplement ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Prothero, Stephen. *Religious Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know—and Doesn't*. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco, 2007.
- Pseudo-Clement. ca. 235-258. "Recognitions of Clement." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325)*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. Vol. 8, 77-211. Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1886. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- Quinn, D. Michael. *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*. Revised and Enlarged ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1998.
- Rashi. c. 1105. *The Torah with Rashi's Commentary Translated, Annotated, and Elucidated*. Vol. 2: Shemos/Exodus. Translated by Rabbi Yisrael Isser Zvi Herczeg. *ArtScroll Series, Sapirstein Edition*. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1994.
- . c. 1105. *The Torah with Rashi's Commentary Translated, Annotated, and Elucidated*. Vol. 1: Beresheis/Genesis. Translated by Rabbi Yisrael Isser Zvi Herczeg. *ArtScroll Series, Sapirstein Edition*. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1995.
- Rasmussen, Dennis. *The Lord's Question*. Provo, UT: Keter Foundation, 1985.

REFERENCES

- Reeves, John C. *Jewish Lore in Manichaeon Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions*. Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 14. Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1992.
- . "The flowing stream: Qur'anic interpretations and the Bible." *Religious Studies News: SBL Edition* 2, no. 9 (December 2001). <http://www.sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleId=58>. (accessed September 6).
- Respect for diversity of faiths. In *Newsroom: The Official Resource for News Media, Opinion Leaders, and the Public*, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. <http://newsroom.lds.org/ldsnewsroom/eng/commentary/respect-for-diversity-of-faiths>. (accessed April 27, 2008).
- Rhodes, Michael D., ed. *The Hor Book of Breathings: A Translation and Commentary*. *Studies in the Book of Abraham* 2, ed. John Gee. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2002.
- Ri, Andreas Su-Min. *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors: Étude sur l'Histoire du Texte et de ses Sources*. Vol. Supplementary Volume 103. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* 581. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2000.
- Richards, LeGrand. 1950. *A Marvelous Work and a Wonder*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976.
- Ricks, Stephen D. "The narrative call pattern in the prophetic commission of Enoch." *BYU Studies* 26, no. 4 (1986): 97-105.
- . "The prophetic reality of tribal reconstruction." In *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration: Essays in Honor of Roland K. Harrison*, edited by Avraham Gileadi, 273-81. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1988.
- . "The garment of Adam in Jewish, Muslim, and Christian tradition." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 705-39. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Liturgy and cosmogony: The ritual use of creation accounts in the ancient Near East." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 118-25. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Olive culture in the second temple era and early rabbinic period." In *The Allegory of the Olive Tree*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks and John W. Welch, 460-76. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- Ricks, Stephen D., and John J. Sroka. "King, coronation, and temple: Enthronement ceremonies in history." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 236-71. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.

- Ricks, Stephen D. "Oaths and oath-taking in the Old Testament." In *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, 43-53. Provo, UT: FARMS at Brigham Young University, 1999.
- . "Dexiosis and Dextrarum Iunctio: The sacred handclasp in the classical and early Christian world." *The FARMS Review* 18, no. 1 (2006): 431-36.
- Ricks, Stephen D., and Shirley S. Ricks. "'With her gauzy veil before her face': The veiling of women in antiquity." In *Bountiful Harvest: Essays in Honor of S. Kent Brown*, edited by Andrew C. Skinner, D. Morgan Davis and Carl W. Griffin, 345-56. Provo, UT: Neal A. Maxwell Institute for Religious Scholarship, Brigham Young University, 2011.
- Ridderbos, Herman N. *The Gospel According to John: A Theological Commentary*. Translated by John Vriend. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1997.
- Riddle, Chauncey C. "The new and everlasting covenant." In *Doctrines for Exaltation: The 1989 Sperry Symposium on the Doctrine and Covenants*, 224-45. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1989.
<http://chaunceyriddle.com/restored-gospel/the-new-and-everlasting-covenant/>. (accessed August 7, 2014).
- Riesenfeld, Harald. *The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings*. Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 11. Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1948.
- Roberts, Brigham Henry. *Defense of the Faith and the Saints*. 2 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News, 1907, 1912. Reprint, Brigham City, UT: Brigham Distributing, 2002.
- . 1928. *The Truth, the Way, the Life: An Elementary Treatise on Theology*, ed. John W. Welch. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 1994.
- Robinson, Stephen E. "The 'expanded' Book of Mormon?" In *The Book of Mormon: Second Nephi — The Doctrinal Structure*, edited by Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate, Jr., 391-414. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1989.
<https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/book-mormon-second-nephi-doctrinal-structure/22-expanded-book-mormon>. (accessed March 12, 2014).
- . "The Book of Adam in Judaism and early Christianity." In *The Man Adam*, edited by Joseph Fielding McConkie and Robert L. Millet, 131-50. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1990.
- , ed. 1978. *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions*. Dissertation Series 52, ed. Howard C. Kee and Douglas A. Knight. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982.
- Rockwood, Jolene Edmunds. "Eve's role in the creation and the fall from mortality." In *Women and the Power Within*, edited by Dawn Hall

REFERENCES

- Anderson and Marie Cornwall, 49-62. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1991.
- . "The redemption of Eve." In *Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective*, edited by Maureen Ursenbach Beecher and Lavina Fielding Anderson, 3-36. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1992.
- Rona, Daniel. *Israel Revealed: Discovering Mormon and Jewish Insights in the Holy Land*. Sandy, UT: The Ensign Foundation, 2001.
- Rosewell, Roger. *Medieval Wall Paintings*. Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2008.
- Rowland, Christopher. "Things into which angels long to look: Approaching mysticism from the perspective of the New Testament and the Jewish apocalypses." In *The Mystery of God: Early Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament*, edited by Christopher Rowland and Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones. *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* 12, eds. Pieter Willem van der Horst and Peter J. Tomson, 3-215. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009.
- Rubinkiewicz, R. "Apocalypse of Abraham." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 681-705. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Ruden, Sarah. *Paul Among the People: The Apostle Reinterpreted and Reimagined in His Own Time*. New York City, NY: Pantheon Books, 2010.
- Ryen, Jon Olav. *The Tree in the Lightworld: A Study in the Mandaean Vine Motif*. Oslo, Norway: Unipub/Oslo Academic Press (Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo), 2006.
- Sailhamer, John H. "Genesis." In *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, edited by Frank E. Gaebelin, 1-284. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1990.
- Salisbury, Frank B. *The Creation*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1976.
- Sanders, E. P. "Testament of Abraham." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. Vol. 1, 871-902. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Santillana, Giorgio de, and Hertha von Dechend. 1969. *Hamlet's Mill: An Essay on Myth and the Frame of Time*. Boston, MA: David R. Godine, 1977.
- Sarna, Nahum M., ed. *Genesis. The JPS Torah Commentary*, ed. Nahum M. Sarna. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989.
- , ed. *Exodus. The JPS Torah Commentary*, ed. Nahum M. Sarna. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991.
- Savedow, Steve, ed. *Sepher Rezial Hemelach: The Book of the Angel Rezial*. Boston, MA: WeiserBooks, 2000.
- Schimmel, Annemarie. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975.

- . 1981. *And Muhammad Is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety*. English ed. *Studies in Religion*, ed. Charles H. Long. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Schmid, Konrad. "Genesis in the Pentateuch." In *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, edited by Craig A. Evans, Joel N. Lohr and David L. Petersen. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Formation and interpretation of Old Testament Literature 152, eds. Christl M. Maier, Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, 27-50. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012.
- Schmidt, Carl, ed. 1905. *Pistis Sophia (Askew Codex)*. Translated by Violet MacDermot. *Nag Hammadi Studies* 9, ed. Martin Krause, James M. Robinson and Frederik Wisse. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1978.
- Scholem, Gershom, ed. 1941. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York City, NY: Schocken Books, 1995.
- . 1974. *Kabbalah*. New York City, NY: Dorset Press, 1987.
- Schwartz, Howard. *Tree of Souls: The Mythology of Judaism*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Seach, John Eugene. *Ancient Texts and Mormonism: The Real Answer to Critics of Mormonism*. 1st ed. Murray, UT: Sounds of Zion, 1983.
- . *Ancient Texts and Mormonism: Discovering the Roots of the Eternal Gospel in Ancient Israel and the Primitive Church*. 2nd Revised and Enlarged ed. Salt Lake City, UT: n. p., 1995.
- . *A Great Mystery: The Secret of the Jerusalem Temple*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008.
- Seely, David Rolph. "What does it mean when the Lord said he would create for Adam 'an help meet for him'?" *Ensign* 24, January 1994, 54-55.
- Segal, Alan F. *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Servi, Katerina. 1997. *Greek Mythology*. Translated by Cox and Solman. Athens, Greece: Ekdotike Athenon, 2001.
- Shakespeare, William. 1600. "The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark." In *The Riverside Shakespeare*, edited by G. Blakemore Evans, 1135-97. Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1974.
- . 1611. "The Tempest." In *The Riverside Shakespeare*, edited by G. Blakemore Evans, 1606-38. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974.
- . ca. 1598. "Much Ado about Nothing." In *The Riverside Shakespeare*, edited by G. Blakemore Evans, 327-64. Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1974.
- Shanks, Hershel. *Jerusalem: An Archaeological Biography*. New York City, NY: Random House, 1995.

REFERENCES

- Shelemon. ca. 1222. *The Book of the Bee, the Syriac Text Edited from the Manuscripts in London, Oxford, and Munich with an English Translation*. Translated by E. A. Wallis Budge. Reprint ed. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1886. Reprint, n. p., n. d.
- Sherry, Thomas E. "Changing attitudes toward Joseph Smith's translation of the Bible." In *Plain and Precious Truths Restored: The Doctrinal and Historical Significance of the Joseph Smith Translation*, edited by Robert L. Millet and Robert J. Matthews, 187-226. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1995.
- Shippo, Jan. *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Skinner, Andrew C. "Joseph Smith vindicated again: Enoch, Moses 7:48, and apocryphal sources." In *Reason, Revelation, and Faith: Essays in Honor of Truman G. Madsen*, edited by Donald W. Parry, Daniel C. Peterson and Stephen D. Ricks, 365-81. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 2002.
- . *Temple Worship: Twenty Truths That Will Bless Your Life*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2008.
- Skousen, Royal. "Joseph Smith's translation of the Book of Mormon: Evidence for tight control of the text." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7, no. 1 (1998): 22-31.
<http://www.farmsresearch.com/publications/jbms/?vol=7&num=1&id=167>. (accessed February 22).
- . "The earliest textual sources for Joseph Smith's 'New Translation' of the King James Bible." *The FARMS Review* 17, no. 2 (2005): 451-70.
- Slanski, Kathryn E. "The Rod and Ring: Enduring Icon of Just Kingship, 2100-850 BCE." *Proceedings of the British Academy*, no. 136 (2008): 37-60. Reprint, Harriet Crawford (ed.), *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt: From Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*. New York City, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 37-60.
- Smith, Christopher C. "The inspired fictionalization of the 1835 United Firm revelations." *Claremont Journal of Mormon Studies* 1, no. 1 (2011): 15-31.
https://www.academia.edu/2357317/The_Inspired_Fictionalization_of_the_1835_United_Firm_Revelations. (accessed March 16, 2014).
- Smith, Hyrum M., and Janne M. Sjodahl. 1916. *Doctrine and Covenants Commentary*. Revised ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1979.
- Smith, Joseph F. 1919. *Gospel Doctrine*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1986.
- Smith, Joseph Fielding, Jr. *Doctrines of Salvation: Sermons and Writings of Joseph Fielding Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1954-1956.
- . *Fall, Atonement, Resurrection, Sacrament (Delivered at the University of Utah Institute of Religion, January 19, 1961)*. Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Institute of Religion, 1961.

- . 1957-1966. *Answers to Gospel Questions*. 5 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1979.
- Smith, Joseph, Jr. *The Words of Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1980.
- . *The Teachings of Joseph Smith (later republished as Encyclopedia of Joseph Smith's Teachings)*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1997.
- . *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*. 2nd ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 2002.
- . *Teachings of the Presidents of the Church: Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2007.
- Smith, Joseph, Jr., Karen Lynn Davidson, David J. Whittaker, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen. *Joseph Smith Histories, 1832-1844. The Joseph Smith Papers, Histories 1*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin and Richard Lyman Bushman. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church Historian's Press, 2012.
- Smith, Joseph, Jr., ed. 1867. *The Holy Scriptures: Inspired Version*. Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House, 1991.
- . 1902-1932. *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Documentary History)*. 7 vols. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1978.
- . 1938. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1969.
- Smith, Mark S. *The Priestly Vision of Genesis 1*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2010.
- Smith, William. *Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible: Comprising Its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*. 3 vols. Revised ed. New York City, NY: Hurd and Houghton, 1873.
<http://books.google.com/books?id=wDYXAAAAYAAJ&pg>. (accessed February 9).
- Smith, William, and Samuel Cheetham. *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities Being a Continuation of 'The Dictionary of the Bible'*. 2 vols. Hartford, CT: The J. B. Burr Publishing Company, 1876, 1880.
- Snow, Lorenzo. *The Teachings of Lorenzo Snow*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1984.
- Sparks, Jack Norman, and Peter E. Gillquist, eds. *The Orthodox Study Bible*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2008.
- Sparks, Kenton L. *Ancient Texts for the Study of the Hebrew Bible: A Guide to the Background Literature*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2005.
- Speiser, Ephraim A. "The Creation Epic (Enuma Elish)." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd with Supplement ed, 60-72, 501-03. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

REFERENCES

- , ed. 1964. *Genesis: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. *Anchor Bible Commentary Series 1*, ed. William F. Albright. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- Spenser, Edmund. 1590/1596. *The Faerie Queen*. 2nd ed. Harlow, England: Pearson Education, Longman, 2007.
- Starr, James. 2007. "Does 2 Peter 1:4 speak of deification?" In *Partakers of the Divine Nature: The History and Development of Deification in the Christian Traditions*, edited by Michael J. Christensen and Jeffery A. Wittung, 81-92. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Stone, Michael E. "The Descendants of Adam." In *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets*, edited by Michael E. Stone, 84-87. Jerusalem, Israel: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982.
- . "Question." In *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to Adam and Eve*, edited by Michael E. Stone, 114-34. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1996.
- . "The fall of Satan and Adam's penance: Three notes on the Books of Adam and Eve." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone and Johannes Tromp, 43-56. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- . "The legend of the cheirograph of Adam." In *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, edited by Gary A. Anderson, Michael E. Stone and Johannes Tromp, 149-66. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2000.
- , ed. 1401-1403. *Adamgirk': The Adam Book of Arak'el of Siwnik'*. Translated by Michael E. Stone. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Stordalen, Terje. *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2-3 and the Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature*. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2000.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- . "The formation and re-formation of Daniel in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. Scripture and the Scrolls 1, ed. James H. Charlesworth, 101-30. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- Summerhays, James T. 2010. The wisdom and intelligence of Eve. In *Meridian Magazine*.
<http://www.meridianmagazine.com/articles/100108wisdom.html>.
 (accessed January 9, 2010).
- Tabory, Joseph. *JPS Commentary on the Haggadah: Historical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 2008.

- Talmage, James E. "The eternity of sex." *Young Woman's Journal* 25, October 1914, 602-03.
- . *The Essential James E. Talmage*. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1997.
- . 1912. *The House of the Lord*. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1998.
- . 1915. *Jesus the Christ*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1983.
- . 1924. *The Articles of Faith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1984.
- Talmage, John R. *The Talmage Story: Life of James E. Talmage—Educator, Scientist, Apostle*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1972.
- Taylor, John. *The Government of God*. Liverpool, England: S. W. Richards, 1852. Reprint, Heber City, UT: Archive Publishers, 2000.
- . 1876. "Burial services, an ancient practice; God, the God of the living; keys committed to Joseph Smith; the last dispensation; Jesus the great Redeemer; an everlasting priesthood; the powers of the resurrection; scriptural, philosophical, and certain; sealing powers eternal (Funeral sermon preached at the 7th Ward Meetinghouse, Salt Lake City, on Sunday Afternoon, 31 December 1876, over the remains of Ann Tenora, the wife of Isaac Waddell; and also over the remains of George W., son of Edward Callister)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 18, 324-35. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Tertullian. ca. 197-222. "On prayer (De Oratione)." In *The Ante-Nicene Fathers (The Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325)*, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. 10 vols. Vol. 3, 681-91. Buffalo, NY: The Christian Literature Company, 1885. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- Thomas, M. Catherine. "The Brother of Jared at the veil." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 388-98. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Hebrews: To ascend the holy mount." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 479-91. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Women, priesthood, and the at-one-ment." In *Spiritual Lightening: How the Power of the Gospel Can Enlighten Minds and Lighten Burdens*, edited by M. Catherine Thomas, 47-58. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1996.
- Thomasson, Gordon C. "Items on Enoch — Some Notes of Personal History. Expansion of remarks given at the Conference on Enoch and the Temple, Academy for Temple Studies, Provo, Utah, 22 February 2013 (unpublished manuscript, 25 February 2013)." 2013.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EaRw40r-TfM>.
- Thompson, John S. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 21 March, 2014.

REFERENCES

- Timothy of Alexandria. ca. 385. "How Abbaton, the angel of death, became the king of all mankind." In *Egyptian Tales and Romances: Pagan, Christian and Muslim*, edited by E. A. Wallis Budge, 195-203. London, England: Thornton Butterworth Limited, 1931. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2003.
- Top, Brent L. *The Life Before: How Our Premortal Existence Affects Our Mortal Life*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1988.
- Tóth, Endre, and Károly Szelényi. *The Holy Crown of Hungary: Kings and Coronation*. 2nd ed. Budapest, Hungary: Kossuth Publishing, 2000.
- Townsend, John T., ed. *Midrash Tanhuma*. 3 vols. Jersey City, NJ: Ktav Publishing, 1989-2003.
- Tullidge, Edward W. 1877. *The Women of Mormondom*. New York City, NY: n.p., 1997.
- Turner, Laurence. *Announcements of Plot in Genesis*. *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series* 96, ed. David J. A. Clines and Philip R. Davies. Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1990.
- Tvedtnes, John A. "Nebuchadnezzar or Nabonidus? Mistaken identities in the book of Daniel." *Ensign* 16, September 1986, 54.
- . "Olive oil: Symbol of the Holy Ghost." In *The Allegory of the Olive Tree*, edited by Stephen D. Ricks and John W. Welch, 427-59. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Priestly clothing in Bible times." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 649-704. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- . "Word Groups in the Book of Mormon." *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997): 263-68.
- . "Early Christian and Jewish Rituals Related to Temple Practices." Presented at the FAIR Conference 1999.
http://www.fairlds.org/FAIR_Conferences/1999_Early_Christian_and_Jewish_Rituals_Related_to_Temple_Practices.html. (accessed September 8).
- . "Temple prayer in ancient times." In *The Temple in Time and Eternity*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, 79-98. Provo, UT: The Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 1999.
- Tvedtnes, John A., Brian M. Hauglid, and John Gee, eds. *Traditions about the Early Life of Abraham*. *Studies in the Book of Abraham* 1, ed. John Gee. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, Brigham Young University, 2001.
- Tvedtnes, John A. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, March 8, 2010.
- Underwood, Grant. "Revelation, text, and revision: Insight from the Book of Commandments and Revelations." *BYU Studies* 48, no. 3 (2009): 67-84.

- van der Toorn, Karel. "The significance of the veil in the ancient Near East." In *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, edited by David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz, 327-40. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- . *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- van Gennep, Arnold. 1908. *The Rites of Passage*. Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- VanderKam, James C., ed. *The Book of Jubilees*. Translated by James C. VanderKam. *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium 511, Scriptores Aethiopici 88*, ed. Frederick McManus. Louvain, Belgium: E. Peeters, 1989.
- . *The Book of Jubilees. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ed. Michael A. Knibb. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Verkerk, Dorothy Hoogland. *Early Medieval Bible Illumination and the Ashburnham Pentateuch*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Vermes, Geza, ed. 1962. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* Revised ed. London, England: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Villalpando, Juan Bautista. *Ezechielem Explanationes*. 3 vols, 1594-1605.
- Villien, A. *History and Liturgy of the Sacraments*. Translated by H. W. Edwards. New York City, NY: Benziger Brothers, 1932. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, n.d.
- Vilnay, Zev. 1932. *The Sacred Land. Legends of Jerusalem 1*. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1973.
- Viola, Frank, and George Barna. 2002. *Pagan Christianity? Exploring the Roots of Our Church Practices*. Revised and updated ed. Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House, 2008.
- Virgil. *The Aeneid of Virgil*. Translated by John Conington. 3rd ed. London, England: Longmans, Green, 1919.
- Vogels, Walter. "Cham découvre les limites de son père Noé." *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 109, no. 4 (1987): 554-73.
- von Wellnitz, Marcus. "The Catholic Liturgy and the Mormon temple." *BYU Studies* 21, no. 1 (1979): 3-35.
- Walton, John H. "Genesis." In *Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy*, edited by John H. Walton. Zondervan Illustrated Bible Backgrounds Commentary 1, 2-159. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009.
- . *The Lost World of Genesis One: Ancient Cosmology and the Origins Debate*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2009.

REFERENCES

- Walton, John H., and D. Brent Sandy. *The Lost World of Scripture: Ancient Literary Culture and Biblical Authority*. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2013.
- Warner, C. Terry. "Truth." In *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, edited by Daniel H. Ludlow. 4 vols. Vol. 4, 1489-91. New York City, NY: Macmillan, 1992. <http://www.lib.byu.edu/Macmillan/>. (accessed November 26).
- Wasserstrom, Steven M. "Jewish pseudepigrapha in Muslim literature: A bibliographical and methodological sketch." In *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, edited by John C. Reeves, 87-114. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1994.
- Watts, Isaac. *Hymns, and Spiritual Songs in Three Books with an Essay Towards the Improvement of Christian Psalmody, by the Use of Evangelical Hymns in Worship, As Well As the Psalms of David*. London, England: John Lawrence, 1707-1709. Reprint, Watts, Isaac, and Samuel Worcester. *Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D. D. To Which Are Added Select Hymns from Other Authors, and Directions for Musical Expression by Samuel Worcester, D. D.* Boston, MA: Crocker & Brewster, 1856. <http://books.google.com/books?id=zSZs5jCXgHoC>. (accessed April 13).
- Webb, Stephen H. *Jesus Christ, Eternal God: Heavenly Flesh and the Metaphysics of Matter*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Weber, Robert, ed. *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* 4th ed: American Bible Society, 1990.
- Weil, G., ed. 1846. *The Bible, the Koran, and the Talmud or, Biblical Legends of the Mussulmans, Compiled from Arabic Sources, and Compared with Jewish Traditions, Translated from the German*. New York City, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1863. Reprint, Kila, MT: Kessinger Publishing, 2006. http://books.google.com/books?id=_jYMAAAIAAJ. (accessed September 8).
- Weinfeld, Moshe. "Sabbath, temple and the enthronement of the Lord: The problem of Sitz im Leben of Genesis 1:1-2:3." In *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, edited by André Caquot and Mathias Delcor. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 212, 502-12. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1981.
- Welch, John W. *The Sermon at the Temple and the Sermon on the Mount*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1990.
- . "The temple in the Book of Mormon: The temples at the cities of Nephi, Zarahemla, and Bountiful." In *Temples of the Ancient World*, edited by Donald W. Parry, 297-387. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book, 1994.
- Welch, John W., and James V. Garrision. "'The Hymn of the Pearl': An ancient counterpart to 'O My Father'." *BYU Studies* 36, no. 1 (1996-1997): 127-38.

- Welch, John W., and Erick B. Carlson, eds. *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820-1844*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 2005.
- Welch, John W. *The Sermon on the Mount in the Light of the Temple*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2009.
- Wenham, Gordon J., ed. *Genesis 1-15. Word Biblical Commentary 1*: Nelson Reference and Electronic, 1987.
- . 1986. "Sanctuary symbolism in the Garden of Eden story." In *I Studied Inscriptions Before the Flood: Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11*, edited by Richard S. Hess and David Toshio Tsumura. *Sources for Biblical and Theological Study* 4, 399-404. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1994.
- Westermann, Claus, ed. 1974. *Genesis 1-11: A Continental Commentary* 1st ed. Translated by John J. Scullion. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994.
- Wevers, John William. *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1993.
- Wheeler, Brannon M. *Prophets in the Quran: An Introduction to the Quran and Muslim Exegesis. Comparative Islam Studies*, ed. Brannon M. Wheeler. London, England: Continuum, 2002.
- . *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Whitlock, Stephen T. E-mail message to Jeffrey M. Bradshaw, 8 February, 2010.
- Whitney, Orson F. "Discourse (April 1928)." In *General Conference Report of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Ninety-Eighth Annual Conference*, 56-61. Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1928.
- . 1921. "Saturday Night Thoughts: A Series of Dissertations on Spiritual, Historical and Philosophic Themes (Whitney on Doctrine)." In *Cowley and Whitney on Doctrine (Originally published as "Cowley's Talks on Doctrine" (Ben E. Rich, comp.) and "Saturday Night Thoughts")*, edited by Forace Green, 197-517. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1963.
- Whittaker, David J. "Substituted names in the published revelations of Joseph Smith." *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (1983): 103-12.
- Wickman, Lance B. "Stand ye in holy places." *Ensign* 24, November 1994, 82.
- Widengren, Geo. *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion. King and Saviour IV*, ed. Geo Widengren. Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksells, 1951.
- . "King and covenant." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1957): 1-32.
- Widtsoe, John A. 1943, 1947, 1951. *Evidences and Reconciliations*. 3 vols. Single Volume ed. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1960.

REFERENCES

- Wilkinson, Richard H. 1992. *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*. London, England: Thames and Hudson, 2006.
- William Blake Online: Blake's Cast of Characters: Personification of the Fallen Tyrant. In *Tate Gallery*.
http://www.tate.org.uk/learning/worksinfocus/blake/imagin/cast_04.html
 . (accessed April 27, 2007).
- Williams, Wesley. 2005. The Shadow of God: Speculations on the Body Divine in Jewish Esoteric Tradition. In *The Black God*.
<http://www.theblackgod.com/Shadow of God Short%5B1%5D.pdf>.
 (accessed December 21, 2007).
- Wilson, Lynne Hilton. "Unveiling veils of authority for women in Paul." Presented at the BYU Studies Fiftieth Anniversary Symposium, Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, March 12-13, 2010.
- Winter, Irene J. "The king and the cup: Iconography of the royal presentation scene on Ur III seals." In *Insight Through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, edited by Marilyn Kelly-Buccellati, Paolo Matthiae and Maurits Van Loon. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 21, eds. Giorgio Buccellati, John L. Hayes and Patricia Olin, 253-68. Malibu, CA: Undena Publications and The International Institute for Mesopotamian Area Studies, 1986.
- Wintermute, O. S. "Jubilees." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth. Vol. 2, 35-142. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1983.
- Wirth, Diane E. *Parallels: Mesoamerican and Ancient Middle Eastern Traditions*. St. George, UT: Stonecliff Publishing, 2003.
- . *Decoding Ancient America: A Guide to the Archaeology of the Book of Mormon*. Springville, UT: Horizon, 2007.
- Wirthlin, Joseph B. "Without guile." *Ensign* 18, May 1988, 80-82.
- Wise, Michael, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. New York City, NY: Harper-Collins, 1996.
- Woodford, Robert J. "The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants." Doctoral Dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1974.
- Woodruff, Wilford. *Waiting for World's End: The Diaries of Wilford Woodruff*. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature, 1993.
- Woodworth, Jed L. "Extra-biblical Enoch texts in early American culture." In *Archive of Restoration Culture: Summer Fellows' Papers 1997-1999*, edited by Richard Lyman Bushman, 185-93. Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History, 2000.

- Wyatt, Nicolas. *Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition*. Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur 13. Münster, Germany: Ugarit-Verlag, 1996.
- . *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East*. Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- . "Arms and the king: The earliest allusions to the *Chaoskampf* motif and their implications for the interpretation of the Ugaritic and biblical traditions." In *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker, 151-89. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.
- . "The darkness of Genesis 1:2." In *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicholas Wyatt, 92-101. London, England: Equinox, 2005.
- . "Degrees of divinity: Some mythical and ritual aspects of West Semitic kingship." In *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker, 191-220. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.
- . "The hollow crown: Ambivalent elements in West Semitic royal Ideology." In *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker, 31-48. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.
- . "The mythic mind." In *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicholas Wyatt, 151-88. London, England: Equinox, 2005.
- . "The significance of *spn* in west Semitic thought: A contribution to the history of a mythological motif." In *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicholas Wyatt, 102-24. London, England: Equinox, 2005.
- . "The significance of the burning bush." In *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicholas Wyatt, 13-17. London, England: Equinox, 2005.
- . "'Supposing him to be the gardener' (John 20:15): A study of the paradise motif in John." In *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker, 61-76. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.

REFERENCES

- . *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.
- . "'Water, water everywhere...': Musings on the aqueous myths of the Near East." In *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicholas Wyatt, 189-237. London, England: Equinox, 2005.
- . "When Adam delved: The meaning of Genesis 3:23." In *'There's Such Divinity Doth Hedge a King': Selected Essays of Nicolas Wyatt on Royal Ideology in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature*, edited by Nicolas Wyatt. Society for Old Testament Study Monographs, ed. Margaret Barker, 55-59. Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005.
- Young, Brigham. 1853. "Necessity of building temples; the endowment (Oration delivered in the South-East Cornerstone of the Temple at Great Salt Lake City, after the First Presidency and the Patriarch had laid the Stone, 6 April 1853)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 2, 29-33. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1854. "I propose to speak in a subject that does not immediately concern yours or my welfare,' a sermon delivered on 8 October 1854." In *The Essential Brigham Young*. Classics in Mormon Thought 3, 86-103. Salt Lake City, UT: Signature Books, 1992.
- . 1855. "Consecration (Discourse delivered in the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, 3 June 1855)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 2, 298-308. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1860. "Privileges of the Sabbath; duty of living our religion; human longevity, etc. (Remarks by President Brigham Young, made in the Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, May 20, 1860)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 8, 57-64. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1884. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1862. "The love of truth and righteousness implanted in the natural man; kindness and firmness in governments (Remarks made by President Brigham Young, Tabernacle, Great Salt Lake City, June 15, 1862)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 9, 305-08. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1864. "Difference of ideas entertained respecting God; the foundation of our religion based upon new revelation; man made in the image of God; we are the offspring of God, etc. (Remarks delivered in the Bowery, Great

- Salt Lake City, 31 July 1864)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 10, 318-27. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1870. "Discourse delivered in the new Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, 30 October 1870." In *Journal of Discourses*. 282 vols. Vol. 13, 274-83. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1872. "The fulness of the Gospel; its power to unite; its comprehensiveness; definition of its priesthood; condition of apostates." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 15, 121-29. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1884. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1872. "Increase of Saints since Joseph Smith's death; Joseph Smith's sons; resurrection and Millennial work (Remarks delivered at Farmington, Saturday Afternoon, 24 August 1872)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 15, 135-39. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- . 1876. "Personal revelation the basis of personal knowledge; philosophic view of Creation; apostasy involves disorganization and returns to primitive element; one man power (Discourse by Brigham Young, delivered in the New Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, Sunday Afternoon, September 17, 1876)." In *Journal of Discourses*. 26 vols. Vol. 18, 230-35. Liverpool and London, England: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1853-1886. Reprint, Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft, 1966.
- Zilio-Grandi, Ida. "Paradise in the Koran and in the Muslim exegetical tradition." In *The Earthly Paradise: The Garden of Eden from Antiquity to Modernity*, edited by F. Regina Psaki and Charles Hindley. International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism, 75-90. Binghamton, NY: Academic Studies in the History of Judaism, Global Publications, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2002.
- Zimmerli, Walther. 1969. *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25-48*. Translated by James D. Martin. *Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible*, ed. Frank Moore Cross, Klaus Baltzer, Paul D. Hanson, S. Dean McBride, Jr. and Roland E. Murphy. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1983.
- Zinner, Samuel. 2013. Underemphasized Parallels between the Account of Jesus' Baptism in the Gospel of the Hebrews/Ebionites and the Letter to the Hebrews and an Overlooked Influence from 1 Enoch 96:3: "And a Bright Light Shall Enlighten You, and the Voice of Rest You Shall Hear from Heaven". In *Dr. Samuel Zinner - World Literature*.

REFERENCES

- <http://www.samuelzinner.com/uploads/9/1/5/0/9150250/enochgosebionites.pdf>. (accessed March 6, 2013).
- Zlotowitz, Meir, and Nosson Scherman, eds. 1977. *Bereishis/Genesis: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* 2nd ed. Two vols. *ArtScroll Tanach Series*, ed. Rabbi Nosson Scherman and Rabbi Meir Zlotowitz. Brooklyn, NY: Mesorah Publications, 1986.
- Zornberg, Avivah Gottlieb. *Genesis: The Beginning of Desire*. Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1995.

Endnotes

-
- 1 N. A. Maxwell, *Cosmos*, p. 2.
 - 2 C. Broderick, *Adversity*, p. 129.
 - 3 See B. C. Hafen, *Anchored*, pp. 3-5.
 - 4 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 2 July 1839, p. 162; cf. D&C 84:19-22.
 - 5 With regard the ordinance of sacrifice revealed to Adam (Moses 5:6-8), Nibley remarks: "These things have to be explained... [but the] angel didn't get his information by speculation" (H. Nibley, *Conversation*, p. 67).
 - 6 H. B. Lee, *Teachings* 1996, pp. 574-576. Elder Neal A. Maxwell wrote that "gaining knowledge and becoming more Christlike 'are two aspects of a single process' (C. T. Warner, *Truth*, p. 1490). This process is part of being 'valiant' in our testimony of Jesus. Thus, while we are saved no faster than we gain a certain type of knowledge (J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 10 April 1842, p. 217; cf. Alma 12:30), it is also the case, as Richard Bushman has observed (R. L. Bushman, *Faithful History*, p. 18), that we will gain knowledge no faster than we are saved... [B]ehaving and knowing are inseparably linked" (N. A. Maxwell, *Inexhaustible*, pp. 212-213). See also P. L. Barlow, *Ten Commandments*, pp. 153-156, 160-163.
 - 7 Cf. M. Barker, *Hidden*, p. 128; M. Barker, *Earth*, pp. 1-2. Chesterton has compared our position to that of a "sailor who awakens from a deep sleep and discovers treasure strewn about, relics from a civilization he can barely remember. One by one he picks up the relics—gold coins, a compass, fine clothing—and tries to discern their meaning" (P. Yancey, introduction to G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, p. xiii). The point is that the re-discovery of the significance of each item comes not so much through careful scrutiny of its outward features as it does through specific recollections of its former place as a natural part of the distant world where he once lived. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 10-12.
 - 8 Joseph Smith-History 1:74.
 - 9 J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 4, p. 54.
 - 10 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*.
 - 11 J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*.
 - 12 2 Nephi 9:41.
 - 13 Compare J. W. Welch, *Temple in the Book of Mormon*, p. 373.
 - 14 A. H. King, *Joseph*; A. H. King, *Account*, pp. 42-43, 45.
 - 15 A. H. King, *Afterword*, pp. 233-236; A. H. King, *Rhetoric*, pp. 201-204; A. H. King, *Child*, pp. 101-102; A. H. King, *Education*, pp. 240-242; cf. D. Packard *et al.*, *Feasting*, pp. 18-20, 199-203, 209-213.

-
- 16 J. Smith, Jr., Words, 29 January 1843, p. 161.
- 17 A. H. King, Afterword, pp. 233-234; D. Packard *et al.*, Feasting, pp. 8-10. Obviously, the more we know about Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other relevant languages of antiquity (and the history and cultures of those peoples that used them), the better we can interpret the plain sense of scripture (W. P. Brown, Seven Pillars, pp. 10-13). Of course, as Nibley observes, the value of knowing these languages is not only to translate from them, but also “to read, ponder, savor, and, if possible, sound the depths of those things which cannot be translated but only tentatively paraphrased” (H. Nibley, Greek, p. 112).
- 18 Cited in M. Fishbane, Spirituality, p. 12.
- 19 C. S. Lewis, Descriptione; G. d. Santillana *et al.*, Hamlet's Mill, p. 10. Specifically regarding the ancient view of the temple, Smith writes: “The idea of divine presence barely resonates in our culture. We stand at such a massive distance from the ancient traditions of the Jerusalem temple... As the decades pass, our culture seems increasingly removed from the Christian and Jewish religious traditions that drew upon the experience of temple” (M. S. Smith, Priestly Vision, p. 36).
- 20 A. H. King, Joseph, pp. 287-288.
- 21 Matthew 6:10.
- 22 M. Barker, Hidden, p. 128.
- 23 M. Barker, Earth, pp. 1-2.
- 24 B. C. Hafen, Anchored, p. 3.
- 25 On the origins of today’s “praise and worship” services, “patterned after the rock concert of secular culture,” see F. Viola *et al.*, Pagan Christianity, pp. 164-166.
- 26 P. Tillich, cited in R. Coles, Secular Mind, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, p. 18.
- 27 J. E. Seaich, Ancient Texts 1995, p. vii.
- 28 M. Barker, Hidden, p. 34.
- 29 J. H. Charlesworth, Protestant View, p. 84.
- 30 S. Prothero, Literacy, pp. 105-112.
- 31 See, e.g., H. B. Eyring, Jr., Power; S. D. Nadauld, Principles, pp. 88-89; B. K. Packer, Plan of Happiness; B. K. Packer, Children, p. 17; B. K. Packer, Do Not Fear, p. 79; B. K. Packer, Errand, pp. 307-312; M. K. Jensen, Anchors. LDS writers have often noted the fact that “God gave unto [men] commandments, *after* having made known unto them the plan of redemption” (Alma 12:32, emphasis mine).
- 32 E. A. Beach, Mysteries; see W. James, Will, pp. 26, 94-95n.
- 33 H. B. Lee, Teachings 1996, p. 459.

34 Cf. E. R. Goodenough, *Introduction to Philo*, pp. ix-xi.

35 N. Wyatt, *Water*, p. 189.

36 N. Wyatt, *Mythic*, pp. 156-157.

37 N. Wyatt, *Significance of Spn*, pp. 117-118.

38 N. Wyatt, *Water*, p. 220. In another place, Wyatt writes (N. Wyatt, *Myths of Power*, p. 19):

There are of course many features of cosmology which were common to all the peoples of the ancient western Asiatic world. But while regional and even local differences are not to be ignored, it is fair to say that the West Semitic world, despite its own differences, its little parochial histories and its perpetual anger of balkanization (counted to some extent by its historic role as the cockpit of the great imperial power-struggles of the Afro-Asiatic land-bridge) does exhibit a community of thought which is readily distinguishable from Egyptian, Hittite, and Sumero-Akkadian culture, even though it was significantly influenced by all of these.

39 See, e.g., M. Eliade, *Myth*.

40 N. Wyatt, *Water*, pp. 189-190.

41 H. W. Nibley, *Facsimiles*, p. 49.

42 President Joseph F. Smith described this danger as reading “by the lamp of [our] own conceit” (J. F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, p. 373; cf. Colossians 2:8).

43 T. G. Madsen, *Nine Reasons*, p. 114.

44 1 Timothy 3:16, D&C 19:10.

45 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 12 May 1844, p. 366; J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 12 May 1844, 6:363. Clarifying the need to follow prescribed channels of divine guidance in such matters, the Prophet adds: “A man can do nothing for himself unless God directs him in the right way; and the priesthood is for that purpose.”

In discussing temple matters, I have always tried to follow the model of Hugh W. Nibley, who was, according to his biographer Boyd Jay Petersen, “respectful of the covenants of secrecy safeguarding specific portions of the LDS endowment, usually describing parallels from other cultures without talking specifically about the Mormon ceremony. This approach earned him a great deal of trust from both General Authorities and from Church members” (B. J. Petersen, *Nibley*, p. 354). Petersen cites a letter of gratitude sent from Elder Dallin H. Oaks to Nibley for his approach to temple scholarship. Along with the letter was a copy of a talk Elder Oaks had given “in which he addressed the manner and extent to which temple ordinances should be discussed outside the temple. Oaks assured Hugh that ‘nothing in this talk is intended to be a criticism of a discouragement of efforts as sensitive as yours. The

talk has some targets, but you aren't one of them'" (ibid., p. 356). For examples of Nibley's discussions of the temple covenants, see, e.g., H. W. Nibley, *Consecration*, pp. 424-425, 441-442; H. W. Nibley, *Drama*, pp. 41-42; H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*; H. W. Nibley, *But What Kind*. For Nibley's views on confidentiality as it relates to temple ordinances, see, e.g., H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, pp. 553-554, 569-572.

46 See D&C 76:7, 128:7.

47 H. B. Lee, *Teachings* 1996, p. 575. Elder Lee continues: "In this sense, then, a mystery may be defined as a truth which cannot be known except by revelation."

48 1 Timothy 3:16, D&C 19:10.

49 D&C 28:7.

50 D&C 76:7.

51 H. W. Nibley, *Assembly*, pp. 137-138.

52 Matthew 13:11.

53 Matthew 11:15.

54 Jacob 4:18.

55 2 Nephi 32:7.

56 See H. W. Nibley, *House of Glory*, p. 330.

57 Hebrews 12:1.

58 For an account of the challenges and difficulties experienced by Joseph Smith during this period, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 33-36; R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, pp. 116-118.

59 See, e.g., D&C 84. For a discussion of how portions of that revelation can be seen as describing a specific sequence of temple blessings, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 519-523.

60 Of course, having an understanding of priesthood ordinances is not the same as being authorized to perform them. As Ehat, *et al.* have written about the "ordinances whereby men were ordained kings and priests": "These ordinances were not introduced in Kirtland because Elijah had not come to confer the fulness of the priesthood upon the Prophet before he administered the Kirtland Temple ordinances" (A. F. Ehat, *et al.*, cited in J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, p. 302, n. 9).

61 D. W. Bachman, *New Light*.

62 Moses 1:42. JST OT2 adds the words: "until I command you." Later the entire phrase ("shew them not unto any except them that believe <until I command you>") was crossed out in that manuscript (S. H. Faulring *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*, p. 595). Compare the Prophet's obedience in not showing the Book of Mormon plates to others until the Three Witnesses were designated by revelation (D&C 17; see also 2

Nephi 27:12, Ether 5:2-4). Even after Joseph Smith was well along in the translation process, he seems to have believed that God did not intend for him to publish the JST in his lifetime. For example, writing to W. W. Phelps in 1832, he said: "I would inform you that [the Bible translation] will not go from under my hand during my natural life for correction, revisal, or printing and the will of [the] Lord be done" (J. Smith, Jr., Writings 2002, 31 July 1832, p. 273). Although in later years Joseph Smith reversed his position and apparently made serious efforts to prepare the manuscript of the JST for publication, his own statement makes clear that initially he did not feel authorized to share publicly all he had produced—and learned—during the translation process.

63 See e.g., book of Abraham, Facsimile 2, explanations of figures 8-22.

64 Another example of a revelation that was not published in Joseph Smith's lifetime is his revelation on war (D&C 87), received on December 25, 1832 and alluded to in D&C 130:12-13 (2 April 1843). Woodford cites sources describing the extensive nature of the Prophet's visions on this subject (R. J. Woodford, Historical Development., 2:1094) and discusses why Brigham Young and others felt that it "was not wisdom to publish it to the world," even in the summary form it was finally recorded, until many years after it was received (ibid., 2:1105-1106; see B. Young, 20 May 1860, p. 58).

65 Cited in G. Q. Cannon, Life (1986), pp. 147-148. Though Jackson rightly raises questions about the provenance of the remembrance (K. P. Jackson, 6 July 2006; K. P. Jackson, 21 August 2006), I see nothing implausible or difficult to reconcile in the statement itself.

66 A. Gileadi, Literary, p. 12.

67 J. B. Pritchard, ANET, pp. 18-22.

68 J. E. Coleson, Life Cycle; J. B. Pritchard, ANET; A. Gileadi, Decoded; S. D. Ricks, Prophetic

69 Genesis 27-33.

70 N. Frye, Secular Scripture.

71 See e.g., D. E. Callender, Adam, pp. 211-218. From a ritual perspective, these three parts correspond to van Gennep's classic stages of separation (*préliminaire*), transition (*liminaire*), and reintegration (*postliminaire*) (A. van Gennep, Rites, pp. 11).

72 Luke 15:11-32.

73 John 16:28.

74 M. Barker, Temple Theology, pp. 4, 7; see also M. Barker, Revelation, pp. 20, 327.

75 Hymns (1985), Hymns (1985), #292.

76 1 Nephi 10:19; Alma 7:20, 37:12.

77 J. M. Derr, *Personal Journey*, p. 97. See *BYU Studies*, 36(1), 1996-1997 for several articles relating to aspects of “O My Father.”

78 J. W. Welch *et al.*, *Pearl*.

79 E. Hennecke *et al.*, *Acts of Thomas*.

80 H. W. Nibley, *Treasures*, pp. 177-178; for a more detailed translation and summary, see H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, pp. 487-501.

81 E.g., A. F. J. Klijn, 2 Baruch, 54:13, p. 640: “you have prepared under your throne the treasures of wisdom”; M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GR 12:7, p. 381:21: “the living water below the throne”; M. Lichtheim, *Memphite*, 61, 1:55: “The Great Throne... is the granary of Ta-tenen.”

82 E.g., Matthew 25:14-29.

83 E.g., A. F. J. Klijn, 2 Baruch, 52:7, p. 639: “Prepare your souls for that which is kept for you, and make ready your souls for the reward which is preserved for you”; E. Hennecke *et al.*, *Apocalypse of Paul*, 20, pp. 771-772: “there are many good things which the Lord has prepared and his promise is great... Paul, may you receive the reward.”

84 E.g., F. G. Martinez, *DSS Translated*, 1QS 4:16-17, p. 7: “For God has sorted them into equal parts until the last day.”

85 E.g., *Pseudo-Clement, Recognitions*, 3:26, p. 121.

86 = the idea of things having been remembered from a former existence.

87 E. Hennecke *et al.*, *Pearl*.

88 E.g., W. Barnstone *et al.*, *Songs of Thomas*, 1:49, p. 620.

89 E.g., M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GR 1:64-65, 72, p. 13; GR 10:1, p. 243:35-36.

90 E.g., E. S. Drower, *Thousand*, pp. 212, 241, 245.

91 H. Bloom, *Names Divine*, p. 25. Hugh Nibley concurs with this assessment, noting that the Pearl of Great Price “has received less attention than the other writings and has been studied only superficially” (H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, p. 18).

92 H. D. Peterson, *Story*; H. W. Nibley, *New Look*.

93 See especially e.g., J. Gee *et al.*, *Astronomy*; E. D. Clark, *Blessings*; H. W. Nibley, *Drama*; H. W. Nibley, *Abraham 2000*; M. D. Rhodes, *Hor*; J. A. Tvedtnes *et al.*, *Traditions*; H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*; H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*.

94 Forty years ago Richard P. Howard (R. P. Howard, *Restoration 1969*) and Robert J. Matthews (R. J. Matthews, *Plainer*) began publishing their pioneering studies of the Joseph Smith Translation or JST, of which the book of Moses is an extract. The wide

availability of Matthews' exhaustive study, in particular, was very effective in abating the qualms of Latter-day Saints (T. E. Sherry, *Changing*), who had not yet had an opportunity to compare the RLDS (now Community of Christ) publication of Joseph Smith's "Inspired Version" of the Bible (J. Smith, Jr., *Holy Scriptures*) with the original manuscripts. Such qualms proved by and large to be unfounded. Matthews clearly established that recent editions of the "Inspired Version," notwithstanding their shortcomings, constituted a faithful rendering of the work of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his scribes—insofar as the manuscripts were then understood (R. J. Matthews, *Plainer*, pp. 200-201; see also K. P. Jackson, *Book of Moses*, pp. 20-33). Four years later, in 1979, the status of the JST was further enhanced by the inclusion of selections from the translation in the footnotes and endnotes of a new LDS edition of the King James Bible. Elder Boyd K. Packer heralded this publication event as "the most important thing that [the Church has] done in recent generations" (B. K. Packer, *Scriptures*, p. 53; cf. B. R. McConkie, *Sermons*, p. 236). Twenty-five years later, in 2004, with painstaking effort by editors Scott Faulring, Kent Jackson, and Robert Matthews and the generous cooperation of the Community of Christ, a facsimile transcription of all the original manuscripts of the JST was at last published (S. H. Faulring *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*). In 2005, as an important addition to his ongoing series of historical and doctrinal studies, Kent Jackson provided a detailed examination of the text of the portions of the JST relating to the book of Moses (K. P. Jackson, *Book of Moses*). Richard Draper, Kent Brown, and Michael Rhodes' verse-by-verse commentary on the Pearl of Great Price, also published in 2005, was another important milestone (R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*). Others have also made significant contributions. Taken together, all these studies allow us to see the process and results of the Prophet's work of Bible translation with greater clarity than ever before. See Royal Skousen for a review of these recent studies of the original JST manuscripts (R. Skousen, *Earliest*). I have published a detailed commentary on the book of Moses and the book of Genesis through chapter 11 (J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*).

95 H. Bloom, *American Religion*, pp. 98, 99, 101.

96 Comparing the different volumes of scripture in the LDS canon, Nibley writes (H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 18-19):

The Book of Mormon and the Old Testament are tribal histories—we still identify ourselves with the tribes of Israel. The New Testament and the Doctrine and Covenants are theological and doctrinal teachings, everlasting and timeless. But the Pearl of Great Price brings together the contemporary accounts of the seven main dispensations of the world since Adam. Coming last, it sums up the entire history of mankind, filling in many of the gaps in our knowledge that have remained to this day. The records of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Joseph Smith were given to the Saints as a bonus for their acceptance of the Book

of Mormon and are still kept in reserve; we may anticipate the pleasure of more light to come.

See also Nibley's discussion of the seven "axial dispensations" in *ibid.*, pp. 57-60.

97 *Ibid.*, pp. 586-587.

98 H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, pp. 1-3.

99 *Moses* 1:1-2.

100 *Moses* 1:42.

101 *Moses* 1:17.

102 *Moses* 1:25-26.

103 Ginzberg reports traditions of "several ascensions of Moses": a first "at the beginning of his career," a second "at the revelation of the Torah," and the third "shortly before his death" (L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:417). For a brief overview of accounts that interpreted Moses' ascent to Sinai as an ascent to the holy of holies, see M. Barker, *Great High Priest*, pp. 218-219. For useful general summaries of ascent literature, see W. J. Hamblin, *Temple Motifs*; J. F. McConkie, *Premortal*; M. Barker, *Temple Theology*; M. Barker, *Risen*. For an interpretation of the Islamic *hajj* pilgrimage as a form of ascent, see S. A. Ashraf, *Inner*, p. 125, and for the Islamic story of Habib, who "entered [Paradise] alive," see M. Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, *Making*, pp. 227-228. For a discussion of Moses' vision on Sinai as an ascent and rebirth, see P. Borgen, *John and Philo*, pp. 60-65. For a more extensive commentary on *Moses* 1, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 32-81. See also H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 17, p. 205; J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*.

104 H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, p. 312; cf. pp. 310-311. See W. W. Isenberg, *Philip*, 85:14-16, p. 159.

105 2 Peter 1:10. See J. M. Bradshaw, *Temple Themes in the Oath*, pp. 59-65.

106 D. C. Peterson, *Muhammad* (2001), p. 527.

107 *Ibid.*, pp. 528-529.

108 A. Schimmel, *Messenger*, p. 160.

109 No relationship to the English word "mirage." See W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Temple*, p. 136; M. Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, *Sirat Rasul*.

110 W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Temple*, p. 136 n. 134.

111 N. Wyatt, *Degrees*, p. 192.

112 N. Wyatt, *Hollow Crown*, p. 32.

113 N. Wyatt, *Degrees*, p. 220.

114 Some well-known studies relating to this long research tradition include E. O. James, *Initiatory*; S. H. Hooke, *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship*; A. M. Hocart, *Kingship*; H. P. L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*; G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*; G. Widengren, *King and Covenant*; J. H. Eaton, *Kingship*; S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*. Wyatt insightfully critiques some of the earlier literature and emphasizes the continuity of divine kingship traditions throughout the ancient Near East (N. Wyatt, *Myths of Power*; N. Wyatt, *There's Such Divinity*).

115 C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, pp. 56, 212–13, 476. See also C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Religious Experience*, pp. 132–133. Regarding the possibility of such forms of worship at Dura Europos, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*.

116 L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:69–70.

117 I. Gardner, *Kephalaia*, 41.11, 17–21, 22–25, 9, pp. 43–46. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 658–660. For a discussion of relevant Mandaean traditions, see *ibid.*, pp. 867–873.

118 L. Turner, *Announcements*, pp. 13–14.

119 Moses 1:31. Though God speaks to Moses near the beginning of the chapter, the parallel wording regarding Moses' "face to face" experience does not appear until verse 31, making it clear that this is the event to which the prologue is pointing us.

120 Moses 1:3–7.

121 Moses 1:8; cf. Abraham 3:22–23.

122 H. W. Nibley, *Assembly*, p. 128.

123 Moses 1:9–23.

124 Moses 1:24.

125 Moses 1:9.

126 Moses 1:25–26.

127 J. A. Tvedtnes, *Rituals*.

128 Moses 1: 27–28, 29.

129 Moses 1:30.

130 Moses 1:35–40.

131 J. W. Ludlow, *Visions*.

132 H. W. Nibley, *To Open*; H. W. Nibley, *Abraham 2000*, pp. 1–73.

133 D. J. Larsen *et al.*, *Vision of Moses*.

134 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, pp. 2–3; R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, pp. 681–683.

135 See E. H. Anderson *et al.*, Abraham. Nibley comments: “In 1898, just a year after the *Apocalypse of Abraham* was published to the world by Bonwetsch, two Latter-day Saint students made the first English translation of the writing, which appeared in the first volume of the *Improvement Era*.... It is significant that it was the Latter-day Saints who first made the *Apocalypse of Abraham* available to the world in English, as it was they who first recognized the book of Enoch, in Parley P. Pratt’s review of 1840, not as a worthless piece of apocrypha, but as a work of primary importance... Brothers E. H. Anderson and R. T. Haag, who made an excellent translation of Bonwetsch’s German—remarkably close, in fact, to Box’s ‘official’ English version of 1919—detected in the text ‘many things of a character both as to incidents and doctrines that ran parallel with what is recorded in the book of Abraham, given to the world by Joseph Smith’ (ibid., p. 705). They wisely contented themselves, however, with printing the text without other commentary than three or four passages in italics, trusting the Latter-day Saint reader to think for himself” (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 11-13).

136 P. P. Novickij (Novitskii), Otkrovenie Avraama. Based on online searches of library catalogues worldwide. One of the illustrations, reproduced in black and white, appeared in “The Dictionary of Angels” (see G. Davidson, *Angels*, pp. 316-317), and apparently was the basis for a figure used in H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, p. 278.

137 See H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, p. 18.

138 See specific parallels between the book of Abraham and this story in ibid., pp. 11-15. Translation of Caption: “A voice from heaven to Abraham saying, the Lord God your creator (you are) searching (for) in the mind of (your) heart. I am he. Go out from your father’s house, so (you will) not be killed and in the sins of your father’s house. (I) went out and right away burned fire his whole house.” I am indebted to Professor David K. Hart of BYU for providing a literal translation of the captions (D. K. Hart, January 29 2009). Kulik’s translation for the corresponding text in the manuscript is: “In the wisdom of your heart you are searching for the God of gods and the Creator. I am he! Leave Terah your father, and leave the house, so that you too are not slain for the sins of your father’s house!” (A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 8:3-6, p. 16). The difference “Lord God” vs. “God of gods” is noteworthy.

139 N. Isar, February 8 2009. See also E. A. S. Butterworth, *Tree*, pp. 121-123.

140 Translation of Caption: Go make a sacrifice. And (he) put me on my feet and led me to the glorious mountain of God Oriv. And I said to the angel, Oh, singer of the eternal, I have no sacrifice with me. How can I make a sacrifice? And (he) said, turn around and I turned around and lo, coming after us (+1 word??) were the sacrifices: calf, goat, sheep, turtledove and pigeon. Cf. A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 12:3-6, p. 19. The first part of the caption comes from 9:5, which Kulik translates as: “Go... and set out for me a pure sacrifice” (ibid., 9:5, p. 17). The phrase “And (he) put me on my feet” has no equivalent here but probably relates to 10:4. The next part of the caption

comes from 12:3-6, which Kulik renders as: “And we came to the glorious God’s mountains—Horeb. And I said to the angel, ‘Singer of the Eternal One, behold, I have no sacrifice with me, nor do I know a place for an altar on the mountain, so how shall I make the sacrifice?’ And he said, ‘Look behind you.’ And I looked behind me. And behold, all the prescribed sacrifices were following us: the calf, the she-goat, the ram, the turtledove, and the pigeon” (ibid., 12:3-6, p. 19).

141 The two-handed *impositio manus* goes back to the Day of Atonement imagery when both hands were placed on the scapegoat by the high priest before it was sent out into the wilderness (A. Edersheim, *Temple*, pp. 249, 253). This seems to have been carried over into the *reconciliatoria manus impositio* as part of the sacrament of penance, and is documented as far back as the Council of Orange in 441 (A. Villien, *Sacraments*, pp. 153-154). Ordination of the bishop seems to have been done more often than not with two hands, as opposed to lower orders of the priesthood (J. Cooper *et al.*, *Testament*, 1:21, p. 65 and note p. 161). The practice in the benediction of catechumens, at exorcism before baptism, and at confirmation is contradictory (ibid., note p. 161). Barker also suggested that only the bishop could perform a two-handed gesture (M. Barker, September 22 2008).

142 Note that the name is apparently an expression of *yhwh*’l. A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 11:2, p. 19; see J. J. Collins, *Imagination*, p. 228; R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, p. 693 note 10b; A. A. Orlov, *Praxis*, p. 62. See also discussion in G. Scholem, *Trends*, pp. 69-70.

143 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 11:3, p. 19.

144 A. A. Orlov, *Angelology*. See also A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, p. 83; B. Lourié, *Review*.

145 Cf. Ezekiel 1:10; P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 2:1, p. 257, 24:9, p. 278, 26:3, p. 280, 44:5, p. 295, 47:4, p. 300.

146 Specifically regarding the dove, Joseph Smith explained: “The sign of the dove was instituted before the creation of the world, a witness for the Holy Ghost, and the devil cannot come in the sign of a dove” (J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 29 January 1843, p. 276; cf. B. R. McConkie, *Mortal Messiah*, 1:404; J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 21 March 1841, p. 66). Nibley comments: “[T]he dove that takes one to heaven is the Holy Ghost, who also instructs and teaches ‘through the heavens,’ ‘revealing... the grand Keywords... as, also, the sign’ (book of Abraham, Facsimile 2, explanation of Figure 7) by which alone supernal knowledge can be conveyed” (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 56-57, see also pp. 18, 43 figure 3). Whether representing the ascent to heaven of the souls of the living (e. g., Nephi, Moses) or dead (e.g., E. S. Drower, *Adam*, pp. 8, 32; H. W. Nibley, *New Look*, July 1969, p. 109; M. D. Rhodes, *Hor*, p. 20), or else the descent of heavenly messengers to earth (H. W. Nibley, *New Look*, July 1969, pp. 108-110, August 1969, pp. 75-77; J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, before 8 August 1839, p. 10; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, December 1835, p. 98), the common idea behind the symbol of

a bird is that of sacred communication and communion between the spheres, “the certain tie between heaven and earth” (H. W. Nibley, *New Look*, July 1969, p. 109).

147 Abraham 1:15-16.

148 M. C. Thomas, Brother of Jared, p. 391. Note the similar wording that is associated with the mountain where God showed himself to the Brother of Jared: it was called Shelem “because of its exceeding height” (Ether 3:1; cf. OT1 and OT2 manuscript versions of Moses 1:1 in S. H. Faulring *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*, pp. 83, 591. A change from “exceeding” to “exceedingly” was made in the LDS 1921 edition of the book of Moses (K. P. Jackson, K. P. Jackson, *Book of Moses*, p. 57)). Thomas describes the spectrum of meanings associated with the three Hebrew consonants *slm*: “peace, tranquility, contentment, safety, completeness, being sound, finished, full, or perfect. Shelem (and Hebrew *shalom*) signify peace with God, especially in the covenant relationship. It also connotes submission to God, which we see in the Arabic words *muslim* and *islam*. In particular, *shelem* has reference to the peace offering of the law of sacrifice, which corresponds to the seeking of fellowship with God, and thereby has a relationship to the meanings of the at-one-ment; that is, *shelem*, fellowship, sealing, and at-one-ment have an obvious relationship” (M. C. Thomas, Brother of Jared, p. 391). Nibley further explains: “The original word of Shelem, *shalom*, means ‘peace,’ but it originally meant ‘safe’ (safety, security) because it was a high place. The Shelem was a high place. It’s still the word for ladder: *silma*, *selma*, a *sullam* in Arabic” (H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 16, p. 196). This connotation is significant because the ladder is a symbol often used to represent the process of exaltation (R. Guénon, *Symboles*, pp. 336-339; cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, April 1844, p. 348 — see also pp. 346-348, 354; M. C. Thomas, Brother of Jared; M. C. Thomas, *Hebrews*; Genesis 28:12; J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, Overview of Moses 1, p. 34; Figure 5-13, p. 351).

149 Translation of Caption: “And the angel said to me, all these many (+2 words??) but the bird do not divide and give to men which I will show standing by you since these are the altar on the mountain to bring a sacrifice to the eternal. And I gave to the angels which came (that?) which had been divided. And an unclean bird flew down to me. And spoke to me, the unclean bird, and said, Why, Abraham, are you on the holy heights? In them neither eat nor drink, and no food of men but all are scorched by fire. Leave the man who is with you. Run away. As they will destroy you. And it was [when?] I saw the bird speaking, and said to the angel, what is this, oh lord? And he said this is from Azazel and the angel said: Go away. You cannot deceive this man.” Kulik gives the text corresponding to the first part of this caption as: “And he said to me, ‘Slaughter and cut all this, putting together the two halves, one against the other. But do not cut the birds. And give them [halves] to the two men whom I shall show you standing beside you, since they are the altar on the mountain, to offer sacrifice to the Eternal One’... And I gave to the angels who had

come to us the divided parts of the animals” (A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 12:8-9, 13:1, pp. 19, 20).

Note that Satan appears as a bird, which is apparently how Yahoel appeared. So perhaps Satan is here imitating the form of an angel. Kulik renders the text corresponding to the second part of the caption as: “And an impure bird flew down on the carcasses, and I drove it away. And the impure bird spoke to me and said, ‘What are you doing, Abraham, on the holy heights, where no one eats or drinks, nor is there upon them food of men. But these will all be consumed by fire and they will burn you up. Leave the man who is with you and flee! Since if you ascend to the height, they will destroy you.’ And it came to pass when I saw the bird speaking I said to the angel, ‘What is this, my lord?’ And he said, ‘This is iniquity, this is Azazel!’ And he said to him, ‘Reproach on you, Azazel!... Depart from this man! You cannot deceive him” (ibid., 13:3-7, 12-13, p. 20).

150 Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 2.

151 See footnote regarding “Shelem” on the previous page. A context of calling upon God is also implied in both accounts, as in similar experiences with Lehi Joseph Smith, and Abraham (i.e., in the book of Abraham).

152 Regarding the title given to Moses, see Barker for a discussion of Psalm 110 and the idea that priests after the order of Melchizedek became sons of God (M. Barker, *Who was Melchizedek*). In Arabic, Abraham is simply referred to as *al-Khalil*, “the Friend” (cf. Hebrew “Hebron” from *haver* = “friend”).

153 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 21:7, 22:2, p. 26.

154 Abraham 3:22-23.

155 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 21:7, 22:5, pp. 26-27.

156 Moses 1:9-11; ibid., 10:1-3, p. 17. Likewise, following one of his visions, Daniel reported that he “fainted, and was sick certain days,” and of a second occasion he wrote: “I was left alone... and there remained no strength in me... and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground” (Daniel 8:26; 10:8-9). Saul “fell to the earth” during his vision and remained blind until healed by Ananias (Acts 9:4, 17-18). Lehi “cast himself on his bed, being overcome with the Spirit” (1 Nephi 1:7). Similarly, Alma “fell to the earth; and it was for the space of three days and three nights that [he] could not open [his] mouth, neither had [he] the use of [his] limbs” (Alma 36:10; cf. Mosiah 27:12, 18-19). Of his weakness following the First Vision, Joseph Smith wrote: “When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven. When the light had departed, I had no strength...” (JS-H 1:20). Concerning his experience of watching Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon as they received the vision of the three degrees of glory (D&C 76), Philo Dibble wrote: “Joseph sat firmly and calmly all the time in the midst of a magnificent glory, but Sidney sat limp and pale, apparently as limber as a

rag, observing which Joseph remarked, smilingly, 'Sidney is not used to it as I am'" (Cited in L. R. Flake, *Three Degrees*, p. 6). Note that when Jesus Christ was "led up the Spirit, into the wilderness, to be with God" (JST Matthew 4:1), it was at a point of physical weakness following a forty-day fast when Satan appeared to tempt Him.

157 Moses 1:9-10.

158 Translation of Caption: "I heard a voice saying, Here Oilu, sanctify this man and strengthen (him) from his trembling and the angel took me by the right hand and stood me on my feet and said to me, stand up oh friend of God who has loved you." Kulik's translation of the corresponding text in the *Apocalypse* reads: "And when I was still face down on the earth, I heard the voice of the Holy One, saying, 'Go, Yahoel, the namesake of the mediation of my ineffable name, sanctify this man and strengthen him from his trembling!' And the angel whom he sent to me in the likeness of a man came, and he took me by my right hand and stood me on my feet. And he said to me, 'Stand up, <Abraham,> the friend of God who has loved you, let human trembling not enfold you. For behold I am sent to you to strengthen you and to bless you in the name of God.'" (A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 10:3-6, pp. 17-18).

159 In the Ezekiel mural at Dura Europos, the "hand from heaven" is specifically associated with the "revivication of the dead" (H. Riesenfeld, *Resurrection*, p. 34; J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*). In a formula repeated throughout the rabbinical literature, the "Key of the Revival of the Dead" is mentioned as one that "the Holy one... has retained in His own hands" (H. Riesenfeld, *Resurrection*, p. 12).

160 The scene recalls Rashi's exegesis of the account of how the children of Israel fell back at the power of the voice of God at Sinai, after which "the angels came and helped them forward again" (A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, pp. 32-33. See Rashi, *Exodus Commentary*, pp. 240-241). Compare John 18:4-6, where the arresting guards fell back when Christ declared His divinity.

161 In classic iconography, the gesture being given by God represented the spoken word. This is consistent with the mention of the heavenly voice in the caption. In medieval Christianity, the meaning later changed to that of blessing (H. P. L'Orange, *Cosmic Kingship*, pp. 171-183).

162 Moses 3:7. Nibley also cites a parallel with Abraham 1:18 ("Behold I will lead thee by my hand"), and sees a corresponding theme in the book of Abraham when Abraham is delivered from the altar: "The expressions 'loose the bands of Hades' and 'him who stareth at the dead' signify the nature of the deliverance and are both typically Egyptian, the latter of which Box finds quite bizarre. Facsimile 1 is a very proper illustration to the story" (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, p. 16, see also p. 42).

163 Matthew 4:8-9.

164 H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, p. 5.

165 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

166 G. A. Anderson *et al.*, Synopsis, 12:1, p. 15E.

167 See R. H. Charles, Enoch, 13:1, 3, p. 288. English translation in H. W. Nibley, To Open, pp. 10-11; cf. R. H. Charles, Apocrypha, 2:196 n. 13:1. Nibley's reading is perfectly coherent. However, Nickelsburg does not see the logic of the *Gizeh* variant, calling it "nonsense" (G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, 1 Enoch, n. 13:1a, p. 234).

168 Regarding Satan, see H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, 17, pp. 212-213. On Cain, see Rashi, Genesis Commentary, 4:16, p. 47; cf. *Midrash Tanhuma*, Bereshit 9 in H. N. Bialik *et al.*, Legends, 101, p. 24.

169 Moses 1:25. The title "Almighty" in this verse recalls the demonstration of God's power over the waters of chaos as the first act of creation (Moses 2:1-2). Moses will in like manner "be made stronger than many waters" (Moses 1:25, R. D. Draper *et al.*, Commentary, p. 21). Rabbi Nathan says that on Sinai, Moses "was sanctified and became like the ministering angels" (J. Goldin, Fathers, 1, p. 3). Going further, "Philo is so carried away by the exalted Moses that he frequently speaks of him as having been deified, or being God. 'For when he had left all mortal categories behind he was changed into the divine, so that he might be made akin to God and truly divine' (Q Exodus, 2:29). Philo vacillates on this point, but the fact that he could make such a statement is highly significant (see E. R. Goodenough, Light, pp. 223-229)" (E. R. Goodenough, Introduction to Philo, pp. 148-149; cf. R. S. Eccles, Pilgrimage, pp. 60-61).

170 A. Kulik, Retroverting, 17:1, p. 22. "The same terms are used in the 'Greater Hekhaloth' in describing the sound of the hymn of praise sung by the 'throne of Glory' to its King—'like the voice of the waters in the rushing streams, like the waves of the ocean when the south wind sets them in uproar'" (G. Scholem, Trends, p. 61).

171 Moses 1:1.

172 K. L. Barney, June 21 2006.

173 Cf. 2 Corinthians 12:2; 1 Thessalonians 4:17; Moses 7:27.

174 Moses 6:64.

175 2 Corinthians 12:2.

176 They had been told not to divide these birds, evidently so that the birds could provide the means of their ascent (A. Kulik, Retroverting, 12:8, p. 19, cf. 15:2, p. 22). Translation of Caption: "And the angel took two birds and the angel took me by the right hand and set me on the wing of a pigeon, on the right, and himself set on the wing of a turtledove. And we ascended into the regions of fiery flame and went up into the heights." Cf. Ibid., 15:2-3, p. 22. Note that Abraham is shown on the left wing, though the *Apocalypse* said that he was set on the right wing. Kulik has "edge" for "regions."

177 Lourié notes “a medieval legend of the ascension of Alexander the Great, which goes back to the Hellenistic era. In the legend Alexander reaches the heaven (or even heavenly Jerusalem) transported by four griffins. This motif suggests that the griffins as the psychopomps transporting visionaries to heaven were not an invention of the authors of the *hekhlot* literature but were a part of the early Jewish environment....” (B. Lourié, Review, p. 233).

178 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 12:10, p. 695; 15:2, p. 696. Cf. H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, p. 18; Genesis 15:9ff.

179 Cf. Exodus 19:3, Ezekiel 40:2; JST Matthew 4:8; Revelations 21:10; Moses 7:2.

180 2 Nephi 4:25.

181 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 17:1, p. 696.

182 Compare H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 449-457.

183 M. E. Stone, *Fall of Satan*, p. 47; cf. Revelation 4:1: “Come up hither”; Matthew 25:21: “Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.”

184 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 30:1, p. 704.

185 Moses 1:24.

186 Moses 1:27-28.

187 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 21:1, p. 26.

188 H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 10, p. 117; cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 27 November 1832, 1:299. Scholem writes that “this cosmic curtain, as it is described in the Book of Enoch, contains the images of all things which since the day of creation have their pre-existing reality, as it were, in the heavenly sphere. All generations and all their lives and actions are woven into this curtain... [All this] shall become universal knowledge in the Messianic age” (G. Scholem, *Trends*, p. 72).

189 P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 45:6, p. 299.

190 M. Barker, *Temple Theology*, p. 28; see also M. Barker, *Boundary*, pp. 215-217. Nibley discusses parallels between the picture presented to Abraham, the “great round” of the hypocephalus, and imagery from Homer (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 42ff.).

191 D&C 107:56, Moses 7:4-67, Ether 3:25, 1 Nephi 14:25, 1 Nephi 14:26, Luke 4:5, M. C. Thomas, *Brother of Jared*.

192 Ether 3:20; cf. Moses 3:26.

193 P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 45:1, p. 296 n. a.

194 Moses 1:30.

195 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 26:1, p. 30.

196 See Moses 2.

197 See Moses 1:39.

198 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 27:1-31:12, pp. 30-35. Nibley nonetheless sees parallels between these passages in the *Apocalypse* and the books of Moses and Abraham (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 25-26).

199 W. Barnstone *et al.*, *Mother*, p. 685.

200 A. A. Orlov, *Gods of My Father*, p. 53; see also A. A. Orlov, *Praxis*.

201 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 16:3, p. 22, italics mine.

202 Moses chapters 2-4. Other ancient writings affirm what the book of Moses says about how the stories of the Creation and the Fall were revealed in vision. For example, the book of Jubilees prefaces a recital of the Creation and other events of Genesis with the Lord's instructions to Moses to record what he would see in vision (O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 2:52, p. 54).

203 D&C 130:9.

204 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 19:1, 4-5, 9, pp. 24-25; cf. *Abraham* 3:1-18.

205 I.e., formerly shadowed, sketched, outlined, prefigured (R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, p. 699 n. 21a).

206 Cf. *Abraham* 5:3-5.

207 Cf. *Abraham* 3:22-23.

208 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, pp. 26-28.

209 *Numbers* 6:24-26.

210 *Matthew* 5:8.

211 *Revelation* 4:2.

212 M. Barker, *Christmas*, pp. 14-15.

213 Translation of Caption: "Abraham bowing with an angel before the throne of God in the heavens." Cf. A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 18:3, p. 24. Note that the text says nothing about "bowing" before the throne of God.

214 *Ibid.*, 10:17, p. 18. The figure may also represent *Metatron*, whose name, according to one interpretation, is short for the Greek *Metathronios*, i.e., "he who stands beside the (God's) throne," or "who occupies the throne next to the divine throne" (G. Scholem, *Trends*, p. 69), or perhaps *Metaturannos*, "the one next to the ruler" (P. Alexander, *3 Enoch*, p. 243). "Metatron was merged with two other heavenly figures, (1) the archangel Yaho'el (*ibid.*, 1:4, p. 257, 48D:1(1), p. 313), and (2) translated Enoch... From other texts, however, we know of an angel Yaho'el quite independent of Metatron (e.g., A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, 10, pp. 17-18)" (P. Alexander,

3 Enoch, p. 244).

215 Jeremiah 2:13.

216 R. Murphy, *Wisdom*, p. 16; cf. J. L. Crenshaw, *Love*, pp. 62-63; Job 19:26-27, 42:5.

217 Job 38:1.

218 H. Fisch, *Presence*, pp. 310-312.

219 W. Blake, *Natural Religion*, p. 41; cf. G. B. Hinckley, *Don't Drop*, p. 46; P. B. Munoa, *Four Powers*, p. 102; L. Snow, *Teachings* 1984, p. 1.

220 H. Bloom, *Genius*, p. 699.

221 F. I. Andersen, 2 Enoch, 35:1-2, p. 158.

222 H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, p. 15. Nibley also cites extensive parallels between Moses 1 and S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*.

223 D&C 130:18-19; 131:5-6; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 8 April 1843, pp. 287-288, 14 May 1843, p. 297.

224 R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, pp. 487-488.

225 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 16 April 1843, p. 196.

226 With respect to the creation accounts in scripture, the Latter-day Saints have avoided some of the serious clashes with science that have troubled other religious traditions. For example, we have no serious quarrel with the concept of a very old earth whose "days" of creation seem to have been of very long, overlapping, and varying duration (Alma 40:8; B. R. McConkie, *Christ and the Creation*, p. 11; B. Young, 17 September 1876, p. 23). Joseph Smith is remembered as having taught that the heavenly bodies were created prior to the earth, asserting that "... the starry hosts were worlds and suns and universes, some of which had being millions of ages before the earth had physical form" (E. W. Tullidge, *Women*, p. 178). For detailed discussions of the book of Moses creation account, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 82-131. For a general discussion of science and Mormonism, see *ibid.*, pp. 526-530.

227 R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 193.

228 Moses 2:14-19. See F. B. Salisbury, *Creation*, p. 71.

229 H. W. Nibley, *Before Adam*, p. 69.

230 See 1 John 1:5; cf. Psalm 104:2.

231 J. Taylor, *JT* 31 December 1876, p. 327. See D&C 88:7-9.

232 Cf. Psalm 36:9.

233 I. Watts, *Hymns, God, my only Happiness* (Psalm 73:25), 2:94, p. 432.

234 See, e.g., J. L. Kugel, *Instances*, pp. 157-160.

235 J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 3:4, p. 29; cf. Psalm 104:2. Note that the darkness mentioned in Moses 2:2 (“I caused darkness to come up upon the face of the deep”) seems to be entirely without negative connotation. On the contrary, according to Wyatt’s brilliant exposition of related Ugaritic and OT passages (N. Wyatt, *Darkness*, pp. 95-96, 97), the:

... passage paradoxically makes darkness the locus of the invisibility, and therefore perhaps of the spiritual essence, of the deity. Furthermore, it links darkness explicitly with the waters, and, I suspect, with the primordial waters in mind, as the extraterrestrial location of God. Indeed, the chiasmic structure of the bicolon cleverly envelops the dwelling (*str, skh*) in the darkness and the darkness of the waters, a graphical verbal presentation of the secrecy of the divine abode....

This process involves the initial stages in the self-manifestation of the deity. It is, in somewhat unusual form, an account of a theophany. It describes three stages in it: first, there is the seemingly improbable condition of primordial chaos in which it is to occur [*thw wbhw*]. Secondly, there is the inchoate medium of revelation: the darkness. And thirdly, there is the spirit of God intuited rather than seen traversing waters as yet unordered.

236 1 Timothy 6:16.

237 John 17:5.

238 H. Koester *et al.*, *Thomas*, 50, p. 132.

239 M. Barker, *Revelation*, p. 22; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 440-441.

240 See Moses 3:1 and J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 136, 149, 151.

241 See *ibid.*, pp. 100-101, 136, 542. This light may have been uncreated.

242 See *ibid.*, pp. 86, 101-102. The divine light referred to here may actually be itself uncreated (M. S. Smith, *Priestly Vision*, pp. 72-79), just as the spirits of all God’s children are eternal in some basis sense (J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 540-543).

243 1:2 — *Nun schwanden vor dem heiligen Strahle.*

244 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 585-590.

245 G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 21:7-10, p. 297; cf. D&C 29:38.

246 M. Barker, *Revelation*, pp. 24-25; M. Barker, *Hidden*, p. 18. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 146-149. Of course, the temple-centric view of the Pentateuch is not the *exclusive* model of Creation presented in the Bible, as scholars such as Brown and Smith explain (W. P. Brown, *Seven Pillars*; M. S. Smith, *Priestly Vision*).

247 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, p. 104.

248 L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:51. See also W. P. Brown, *Seven Pillars*, pp. 40-41; P. J. Kearney, *Creation*; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Cosmology of P*, pp. 10-11. According to Walton, “the courtyard represented the cosmic spheres outside of the organized cosmos (sea and pillars). The antechamber held the representations of lights and food. The veil separated the heavens and earth—the place of God’s presence from the place of human habitation” (J. H. Walton, *Lost World*, p. 82).

Note that in this conception of creation the focus is not on the origins of the raw materials used to make the universe, but rather their fashioning into a structure providing a useful purpose. The key insight, according to Walton, is that: “people in the ancient world believed that something existed not by virtue of its material proportion, *but by virtue of its having a function in an ordered system...* Consequently, something could be manufactured physically but still not ‘exist’ if it has not become functional.... The ancient world viewed the cosmos more like a company or kingdom” that comes into existence at the moment it is organized, not when the people who participate it were created materially (*ibid.*, pp. 26, 35; cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 5 January 1841, p. 181, *Abraham* 4:1).

Walton continues:

It has long been observed that in the contexts of *bara'* [the Hebrew term translated “create”] no materials for the creative act are ever mentioned, and an investigation of all the passages mentioned above substantiate that claim. How interesting it is that these scholars then draw the conclusion that *bara'* implies creation out of nothing (*ex nihilo*). One can see with a moment of thought that such a conclusion assumes that “create” is a material activity. To expand their reasoning for clarity’s sake here: Since “create” is a material activity (assumed on their part), and since the contexts never mention the materials used (as demonstrated by the evidence), then the material object must have been brought into existence without using other materials (i.e., out of nothing). But one can see that the whole line of reasoning only works if one can assume that *bara'* is a material activity. In contrast, if, as the analysis of objects presented above suggests, *bara'* is a functional activity, it would be ludicrous to expect that materials are being used in the activity. In other words, the absence of reference to materials, rather than suggesting material creation out of nothing, is better explained as indication that *bara'* is not a material activity but a functional one (J. H. Walton, *Lost World*, pp. 43-44).

In summary, the evidence... from the Old Testament as well as from the ancient Near East suggests that both defined the pre-creation state in similar terms and as featuring an absence of functions rather than an absence of material. Such information supports the idea that their concept of existence was linked to functionality and that creation was an activity of bringing functionality to a nonfunctional condition rather than bringing material substance to a situation in

which matter was absent. The evidence of matter (the waters of the deep in Genesis 1:2) in the precreation state then supports this view” (ibid., p. 53).

249 E.g., M. Weinfeld, Sabbath, pp. 508-510; S. D. Ricks, Liturgy; P. J. Kearney, Creation; J. Morrow, Creation.

250 Exodus 40:17-19.

251 Exodus 40:20-21.

252 Exodus 12:8, 25:30

253 For a discussion how the notion of “priestly time” is reflected in the story of the creation of the luminaries, see M. S. Smith, Priestly Vision, pp. 93-94, 97-98. If we take a functional view of Creation, then the luminaries are among the functionaries (J. H. Walton, Lost World, pp. 63-66).

254 Exodus 25:31-40, 37:17-24.

255 Exodus 25:18-22, 37:6-9.

256 See Exodus 40:12-15. See also M. S. Smith, Priestly Vision, pp. 98-102. “Through Genesis 1 we come to understand that God has given us a privileged role in the functioning of His cosmic temple. He has tailored the world to our needs, not to His (for He has no needs). It is His place, but it is designed for us and we are in relationship with Him” (J. H. Walton, Lost World, p. 149). See Fletcher-Louis for the idea that certain individuals (e.g., the high priest, as possessor of the “glory of Adam”) were even “deemed worthy of worship because they were God’s Image, his living idols” (C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, Jewish Roots, p. 128; cf. S. Bunta, Likeness). Cf. John 14:6-13.

257 Moses 3:1. See J. D. Levenson, Temple and World, p. 287; A. C. Leder, Coherence, p. 267; J. Morrow, Creation. Levenson also cites Blenkinsopp’s thesis of a triadic structure in the priestly concept of world history that described the “creation of the world,” the “construction of the sanctuary,” and “the establishment of the sanctuary in the land and the distribution of the land among the tribes” in similar, and sometimes identical language. Thus, as Polen reminds us, “the purpose of the Exodus from Egypt is not so that the Israelites could enter the Promised Land, as many other biblical passages have it. Rather it is theocentric: so that God might abide with Israel... This limns a narrative arc whose apogee is reached not in the entry into Canaan at the end of Deuteronomy and the beginning of Joshua, but in the dedication day of the Tabernacle (Leviticus 9-10) when God’s Glory—manifest Presence—makes an eruptive appearance to the people (Leviticus 9:23-24)” (N. Polen, Leviticus, p. 216).

In another correspondence, Smith notes a variation on the first Hebrew word of Genesis (*bereshit*) and the description used in Ezekiel 45:18 for the first month of a priestly offering (*barishon*): “Thus said the Lord: ‘In the beginning (month) on the

first (day) of the month, you shall take a bull of the herd without blemish, and you shall cleanse the sanctuary.’ What makes this verse particularly relevant for our discussion of *bere’shit* is that *ri’shon* occurs in close proximity to *’ehad*, which contextually designates ‘(day) one’ that is ‘the first day’ of the month. This combination of ‘in the beginning’ (*bari’shon*) with ‘(day) one’ (*yom ’ehad*) is reminiscent of ‘in beginning of’ (*bere’shit*) in Genesis 1:1 and ‘day one’ (*yom ’ehad*) in Genesis 1:5” (M. S. Smith, *Priestly Vision*, p. 47).

Hahn notes the same correspondences to the creation of the cosmos in the building of Solomon’s Temple (S. W. Hahn, *Christ, Kingdom*, pp. 176-177; cf. J. Morrow, *Creation*; J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, pp. 283-284; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, pp. 62-65; M. Weinfeld, *Sabbath*, p. 506, 508):

As creation takes seven days, the Temple takes seven years to build (1 Kings 6:38). It is dedicated during the seven-day Feast of Tabernacles (1 Kings 8:2), and Solomon’s solemn dedication speech is built on seven petitions (1 Kings 8:31-53). As God capped creation by “resting” on the seventh day, the Temple is built by a “man of rest” (1 Chronicles 22:9) to be a “house of rest” for the Ark, the presence of the Lord (1 Chronicles 28:2; 2 Chronicles 6:41; Psalm 132:8, 13-14; Isaiah 66:1).

When the Temple is consecrated, the furnishings of the older Tabernacle are brought inside it. (R. E. Friedman suggests the entire Tabernacle was brought inside). This represents the fact that all the Tabernacle was, the Temple has become. Just as the construction of the Tabernacle of the Sinai covenant had once recapitulated creation, now the Temple of the Davidic covenant recapitulated the same. The Temple is a microcosm of creation, the creation a macro-temple.

258 J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 3:9, p. 35.

259 H. W. Nibley, *Meaning of Temple*, pp. 14-15; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Greatness*, p. 301; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 37-42. Speaking of the temple and its furnishings, Josephus wrote that each item was “made in way of imitation and representation of the universe” (F. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 3:7:7, p. 75). Levenson has suggested that the temple in Jerusalem may have been called by the name “Heaven and Earth,” paralleling similar names given to other Near East temples (see J. H. Walton, *Lost World*, pp. 180-181 n. 12).

260 J. H. Walton, *Lost World*, pp. 84, 88; cf. J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, pp. 287-294; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden* pp. 34-37. Regarding the seventh day of Creation, Walton writes (J. H. Walton, *Lost World*, pp. 72-73, 75):

In the traditional view that Genesis 1 is an account of material origins, day seven is mystifying. It appears to be nothing more than an afterthought with theological concerns about Israelites observing the sabbath—an appendix, a postscript, a tack on.

In contrast, a reader from the ancient world would know immediately what was going on and recognize the role of day seven. Without hesitation the ancient reader would conclude that this is a temple text and that day seven is the most important of the seven days. In a material account day seven would have little role, but in a functional account, ... it is the true climax without which nothing else would make any sense or have any meaning.

How could reactions be so different? The difference is the piece of information that everyone knew in the ancient world and to which most modern readers are totally oblivious: Deity rests in a temple and only a temple. That is what temples were built for. We might even say that this is what a temple is—a place for divine rest [see, e.g., Psalm 132:7-8, 13-14]...

What does divine rest entail? Most of us think of rest as disengagement from the cares, worries, and tasks of life. What comes to mind is sleeping in or taking an afternoon nap. But in the ancient world rest is what results when a crisis has been resolved or when stability has been achieved, when things have “settled down.” Consequently normal routines can be established and enjoyed. For deity this means that the normal operations of the cosmos can be undertaken. This is more a matter of engagement without obstacles than disengagement without responsibilities....

The role of the temple in the ancient world is not primarily a place for people to gather in worship like modern churches. It is a place for the deity—sacred space. It is his home, but more importantly his headquarters—the control room. When the deity rests in the temple it means that he is taking command, that he is mounting to his throne to assume his rightful place and his proper role.

261 E.g., G. K. Beale, *Temple*, pp. 66-80; G. J. Wenham, *Sanctuary Symbolism*; J. M. Lundquist, *Reality*; D. W. Parry, *Garden*; J. A. Parry *et al.*, *Temple in Heaven*; T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 112-116, 308-309; R. N. Holzapfel *et al.*, *Father's House*, pp. 17-19; J. Morrow, *Creation*. The imagery of the Garden of Eden as a prototype sanctuary is not incompatible with views that relate the symbolism of the Creation of the cosmos to the temple, as discussed above (see, e.g., M. S. Smith, *Priestly Vision*; J. H. Walton, *Lost World*; J. H. Walton, *Genesis*, pp. 10-31; W. P. Brown, *Seven Pillars*, pp. 33-77; J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*). See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 146-149.

262 Long presumed to have been created in about 1760 BCE during the reign of its last independent sovereign, King Zimri-Lim, it has now been convincingly dated by Margueron to a period decades earlier, most likely during the reign of Zimri-Lim's father, the great Yahdun-Lim (J.-C. Margueron, *La Peinture et l'Histoire*, p. 23). For a ritual interpretation and comparative analysis of the Mari Investiture Panel, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Investiture Panel*

263 Associated in some cultures with the idea of heavenly ascent and the attainment of divine vision. See, e.g., E. A. S. Butterworth, *Tree*, p. 213.

264 The bird, painted in blue, “has been identified as the ‘hunter of Africa’” and “was seen over the ruins of Mari in 1951” (Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 11). Others have identified it as a dove, a symbol associated with Ishtar. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 42-43, 166, 209, 246, 473, 654.

265 This second type of tree with its prominent blossoms is identified by al-Khalesi simply as the “Sacred Tree” (Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, pp. 11, 43). Al-Khalesi notes the realism of the date palm but sees the “sacred tree” as “imaginary” in nature (*ibid.*, p. 11). Al-Khalesi reproduces a figure of the façade wall of the Sin temple at Khorsabad where palm trees positioned immediately above identical goddesses with flowing vases flank the entrance to the ante-cella. Later in this chapter, there is a brief discussion of the controversy over the positioning of the menorah in the Jewish temple, and the idea of a Tree of Life that may have once been placed in the Holy of Holies.

266 Cf. *Moses* 4:31.

267 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 67. Barrelet—citing texts associated with Gudea, a ruler of the city of southern city of Lagash, ca. 2144-2124 BCE—conjectures that the three composite animals symbolize the three major areas of the ritual complex where the investiture took place (M.-T. Barrelet, *Peinture*, p. 24).

268 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 38. The ceremony may have taken place during an Babylonian New Year's festival called the “Offerings of Ishtar” (S. Dalley, *Mari and Karana*, p. 134). Known in greater detail from later periods, the New Year's festival represented the annual renewal of kingship.

Although we know little directly about the details of the Old Babylonian investiture ritual performed at Mari, it is certain that the fourth of the twelve days of the later Babylonian New Year *akitu* festival always included a rehearsal of the creation story, *Enuma Elish* (“When on high...”) (E. A. Speiser, *Creation Epic*), a story whose theological roots reach back long before the zenith of Mari and whose principal motifs were carried forward in later texts throughout the Levant (K. L. Sparks, *Ancient Texts*, p. 167; H. Jacobson, *Pseudo-Philo*, pp. 167-168). In its broad outlines, this ritual text is an account of how Marduk achieved preeminence among the gods of the heavenly council through his victorious battles with the goddess Tī'amat and her allies, and the subsequent creation of the earth and of mankind as a prelude to the building of Marduk's temple in Babylon. The epic ends with the conferral upon Marduk of fifty sacred titles, including the higher god Ea's own name, accompanied with the declaration: “He is indeed even as I” (E. A. Speiser, *Creation Epic*, 7:140, p. 172). Seen in this light, a better title for *Enuma Elish* might be “The Exaltation of Marduk” (R. J. Clifford, *Creation*, p. 93).

Later, Marduk was granted the privilege of having his own temple built, in likeness of the temple of Ea (H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 10, pp. 126-127). Of course, such temples were not directly built by divine hands, but rather by the king, on behalf of the gods, as one of his central duties. In return for his service and fidelity, the fruits of the victory won by the gods were transmitted to the new king, both through divine sanction for his kingship—expressed explicitly in the rituals of investiture—and also through the commission given him to build a royal palace, its function paralleling in the secular world that of the temple in the religious domain (I. J. Winter, *King*, p. 253).

269 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 38, emphasis in original.

270 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

271 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

272 *Ibid.*, p. 18. See also T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, p. 22 n. 20.

273 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 38.

274 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

275 The idea of seven degrees of separation is reinforced by the six painted bands on the three other sides of the cella depiction in the mural, paralleling the recessed door jambs at the entrance of the sanctuary (*ibid.*, pp. 38, 40). Other elements of the painting's style also evidence "three dimensional elements represented in the linear perspective" (*ibid.*, p. 43).

Note that Jewish, early Christian, and Islamic sources often mention a cosmology of seven heavens relating to the purported layout of the heavenly temple (see, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, p. 38, 39, 63; J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*, p. 22).

276 See Alma 32:41-42. Related imagery on a seal of Gudea suggests the idea that the sprout represents the new king (J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Investiture Panel*, p. 30).

277 Cf. Moses 3:10, 1 Nephi 11:25.

278 A restoration of the mural revealed fish in the water. Note also that the entire mural "is surrounded by a border of running spirals, probably symbolizing water, and there is another band of dome-like motif with a knob at the top and the bottom of the mural. It is interesting to note that the latter motif is somewhat similar to the tassels which adorn the robe of Idi-ilum's statue from Mari" (Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 38).

279 See *ibid.*, pp. 58-60 for arguments in favor of the identification of this goddess with Ishtar. Note, among other conventions, the lion under her foot. By way of contrast, the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* shows that "the cat who split the *ished-tree* and released the god also beheads the god's mortal enemy, the *Apophis* serpent, beneath the same *ished-tree*," its paw resting heavily on the head of the serpent in accompanying illustrations (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 311-312). For related

motifs in Jewish and Christian sources, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 266-267.

280 J. R. Porter, *Guide*, p. 28.

281 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, pp. 60-61.

282 See S. D. Ricks, *Oaths*, pp. 49-50; P. Y. Hoskisson, *Nišum Oath*.

283 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 58. Wyatt discusses these items as divine arms that relate the king's military action to the mythic combat of the gods (N. Wyatt, *Arms*, p. 159): "The actual handing over of the weapons (taken by the king from the hands of the divine image?) indicates a process of direct transmission by touch, comparable to rites of laying of hands, as in investitures, and enthronement rites in which kings sit on the divine throne" (*ibid.*, p. 160 n. 28). Based on fragmentary textual evidence, Wyatt conjectures three elements in the ritual (*ibid.*, pp. 159-160):

Firstly, the king is escorted by the god to the throne of his father, where he presumably takes his seat. This suggests that he approaches the throne accompanied by the image of the god, perhaps holding his hand;

Secondly, he is given the "divine weapons," which are identified as those used by the god in the mythical *Chaoskampf* [i.e., primeval battle between the god and the forces of chaos]. Something of their power and efficacy is evidently to be transmitted to the king;

Thirdly, he is anointed, in the first extra-biblical allusion to the anointing of a king. This most distinctive of Israelite and Judahite rites is now given a pedigree going back a millennium. This is thus the formal inauguration of [the king's] reign...

Differing from Wyatt in the interpretation of the "rod and ring," Slanski concludes, from both linguistic and archaeological evidence, that the "ring" in the hand of Ishtar could well be an ancient chalk line (K. E. Slanski, *Rod and Ring*, pp. 47-48), symbolizing the just rulership of the king. As emblems that symbolically conjoin the acts of measurement and temple foundation-laying with the processes of cosmic creation, the Mesopotamian rod and ring can be profitably compared to temple surveying instruments in the biblical book of Ezekiel (see, e.g., D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, pp. 512, 515) as well as to the analogous figures of the square and circle (or compass) (H. W. Nibley, *Circle*).

Note the battle axe that hangs down from Ishtar's left hand in the mural, a more fitting symbol of war. Since there is no explicit link between the Mari Investiture Panel and the text on which Wyatt bases his interpretation, Ronan Head and I have tentatively concluded that, just as the painting seems to depict an established rite involving the "rod and ring" that authorized the king to build a palace and establish his just rule, so there may have been an analogous ceremony to which Wyatt's text alludes, where the god would stretch out his battle-axe to the king in preparation for

war. A biblical parallel to the dichotomy between building and waging war can be found in the story of King David, who was forbidden by God from constructing a temple because of his career as a warrior. For this reason, Solomon his son, a “man of rest,” was eventually given the commission to build the earthly House of God (1 Chronicles 22:8-9).

Citing Moses as the prototype of king, priest, and prophet, Widengren notes his possession of three objects as emblems of these respective offices: the verdant rod or staff (Exodus 4:17—used anciently as a weapon and corresponding to the later symbol of a sword), the manna (Exodus 16:33-34)—perhaps relating to the shewbread that only the priests were to eat (Matthew 12:4; Mark 2:26; Luke 6:4), and the tablets of law (Exodus 31:18). The first and third of these parallel the Mesopotamian king Enmeduranki who receiving the cedar staff and the Tablets of Destiny at his enthronement (G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, pp. 39-40, 60-61). The three emblems of Moses’ kingship, provided in each case by God Himself, seem to have been the very objects that were later transferred to the temple Ark (Hebrews 9:4. Contrast Exodus 25:16, which seems to be arguing polemically against anything other than the Tablets being in the Ark (J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 680-681), and might be seen as represented in early Christian sacramental altars as fragments of the wooden cross of Christ, crumbs of the bread of the Eucharist and associated grains of frankincense, and the bone relics of the saints into whose very selves was written the law of the new covenant (ibid., pp. 658, 679-681; cf. Jeremiah 31:33; Matthew 26:28; Mark 14:24; Luke 22:20; 1 Corinthians 11:25). A copy of the Gospels, the “New Law,” was also sometimes kept on the altar during the Eucharist. Note also that Eastern Christians also called their sanctuary altar a throne.

284 Cf. Daniel 4:20, 22: “The tree... is thou, O king.” See also Judges 9:7-21, E. D. Clark, *Cedars*; T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 89-92, 100-101, 291; G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, pp. 42-50.

285 N. Wyatt, *Space*, p. 170; cf. 1 Nephi 11:8-22, M. Barker, Joseph Smith, p. 76; M. Cazenave, *Encyclopédie*, p. 44; D. C. Peterson, *Asherah* 1998; D. C. Peterson, *Asherah* 2000 H. Schwartz, *Tree*, p. 50. See also Qur’an 19:23-26, A. a.-S. M. H. at-Tabataba’i, *Al-Mizan*, 6:146.

286 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, pp. 45, 54, 56; J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 355-356. Al-Khalesi concludes that this supplication “was on behalf of the worshipper” (Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 15).

287 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, p. 101.

288 J. M. Lundquist, *Reality*; J. A. Parry *et al.*, *Temple in Heaven*; T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 112-116, 308-309; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 20-23.

289 D. W. Parry, *Garden*, p. 135.

290 Cf. John 16:28.

291 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 442-443.

292 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 328-351.

293 Moses 4:31. See *ibid.*, p. 282.

294 Hebrew *tzimtzum*. See also the gradual and seemingly reluctant departure of God from Jerusalem and its temple in Ezekiel (T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 56-57). A number of other Jewish sources likewise describe the similar process of the removal of the *Shekhinah*—representing God's presence—in seven stages (H. Schwartz, *Tree*, p. 51, cf. pp. 55-56).

295 Articles of Faith 1:10. See J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, pp. 297-298; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 24-26, 42.

296 J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, p. 298.

297 Revelation 22:1-5. See M. Barker, *Revelation*, pp. 327-333; R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Promises*; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 13-15.

298 Matthew 6:10.

299 W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Temple*, pp. 14-15. See Revelation 21:22. Levenson finds a similar concept in his retranslation of the proclamation of the seraphim in Isaiah's vision. Rather than chanting: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: The whole earth is full of his glory" (Isaiah 6:3), Levenson (J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, pp. 289-290) gives the more accurate rendering of: "The fulness of the whole earth (or, world) is his glory":

In cultic contexts, the term for "glory" (*kabod*) has a technical meaning; it is the divine radiance... that manifests the presence of God [cf. Exodus 40:34, 1 Kings 8:11]... If my translation of Isaiah 6:3 is correct, then the seraphim identify the world in its amplitude with this *terminus technicus* of the Temple cult. As Isaiah sees the smoke filling the Temple, the seraphim proclaim that the *kabod* fills the world (verses 3-4). The world is the manifestation of God as He sits enthroned in His Temple. The *trishagion* is a dim adumbration of the rabbinic notion that the world proceeds from Zion in the same manner that a fetus, in rabbinic etymology, proceeds from the navel.

300 Article of Faith 1:10: "the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory."

301 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 85-87.

302 Abraham 3:26.

303 D&C 130:2.

304 Moses 3:9.

305 Moses 4:28-31.

306 D&C 93:24.

307 V. P. Hamilton, Genesis 1-17, p. 166.

308 J. H. Hertz, Pentateuch, p. 8; cf. J. E. Faulconer, Adam and Eve, pp. 19-20.

309 1 Kings 3:9; cf. *Targum Yerushalmi*: “the tree of knowledge, of which any one who ate would distinguish between good and evil” (cited in J. W. Etheridge, Onkelos).

310 C. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, pp. 247-248; cf. T. N. D. Mettinger, Eden, pp. 61-63.

311 Sarna writes: “Against the interpretation that [the fruit represented carnal knowledge] is the fact... that sexual differentiation is made by God Himself [Moses 2:27], that the institution of marriage is looked upon... as part of the divinely ordained order [Moses 2:25], and that... ‘knowledge of good and bad’ is a divine characteristic” (N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 19; see Moses 4:11, 28). Westermann concurs, concluding that the opening of the eyes experienced by Adam and Eve in Moses 4:13 “does not mean that they become conscious of sexuality” (C. Westermann, Genesis 1-11, p. 251). It is later, immediately following the account of their expulsion from Eden, that we are given the significant detail that “Adam knew his wife, and she bare unto him sons and daughters” (Moses 5:2. See J. E. Talmage, Jesus the Christ, p. 30).

312 In contrast to the Bible, which exclusively employs the term “good *and* evil,” (Genesis 2:9, 17; Genesis 3:5, 22; Deuteronomy 1:39; 2 Samuel 19:35; Proverbs 31:12; Isaiah 5:20; Jeremiah 24:3; Amos 5:14; Matthew 12:35; Luke 6:45; Hebrews 5:14; cf. 2 Nephi 2:18, 15:20; Alma 29:5, 42:3; Moses 3:9, 17; Moses 4:11, 28; Moses 5:11; Abraham 5:9, 13; JS-H 1:33), the Book of Mormon and the book of Moses contain nine instances of the similar phrase “good *from* evil” (2 Nephi 2:5, 26; Alma 12:31, 29:5; Helaman 14:31; Moroni 7:15-16, 19; Moses 6:56). Though, admittedly, the difference in connotation between these terms is not entirely consistent across all scriptural references to them (see e.g., Alma 12:31 and Moses 4:28), one might still argue for a distinction between the knowledge Adam and Eve attempted to acquire when they determined to eat the forbidden fruit (and would eventually receive in its fullness when they had successfully finished their probation), and that which they gained later through the experience of repeated choice in a fallen world. Unlike the former attempt to gain knowledge that had come in response to Satan’s deception and as the result of moral autonomy exercised in transgression of divine instruction, the essential knowledge attained gradually by Adam and Eve during their later period of mortal probation would depend on their hearkening to the “Spirit of Christ” (Moroni 7:16, 19), mercifully made available to them through the power of redemption (2 Nephi 2:26), and enabling them to “know good from evil... with a perfect knowledge, as the daylight is from the dark night” (Moroni 7:15).

313 A. Cohen, Chumash, p. 10.

314 Whereas the Hebrew text uses the singular “thou,” implying that the commandment was given to Adam alone, the Greek *Septuagint* uses the plural “you” (L. C. L. Brenton, *Septuagint*, Genesis 2:17, p. 3; C. Dogniez *et al.*, *Pentateuque*, Genesis 2:17, pp. 140-141). The idea that both Adam and Eve were both present to hear this command from God was not uncommon in Jewish and early Christian tradition (G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 32:1, p. 36E; G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 81-84).

315 J. F. Smith, Jr., Fall. See also J. F. Smith, Jr., *Answers*, 4:81. The unique phrasing of this commandment is noted by Elder Smith: “In no other commandment the Lord ever gave to man, did he say: ‘But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, nevertheless, thou mayest choose for thyself’” (J. F. Smith, Jr., *Doctrines*, 1:114).

316 H. Schwartz, *Tree*, 199, p. 165.

317 R. Green *et al.*, *Hortus*, Vol. 1, Original fol. HD 17r. (Figure 21).

318 Genesis 2:4-7.

319 Genesis 2:16-17.

320 Genesis 2:19-24.

321 G. A. Anderson, *Original Form*, p. 83; G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 216-217 n. 6.

322 See S. D. Ricks, *Oaths*, pp. 49-50.

323 E.g., D. C. Matt, *Zohar* 1, *Be-Reshit* 1:36b, p. 229.

324 Moses 2:28.

325 Similarly, in the Zoroastrian *Bundahishn*, the special tree standing near to the Tree of Life is called the “tree of many seeds” (F. M. Müller, *Bundahis*, 9:5, 18:9, 27:2, pp. 31, 66, 99-100). A Coptic text says that the leaves of the Tree of Knowledge “are like fig leaves. Its fruit is like a good appetizing date” (H.-G. Bethge *et al.*, *Origin*, 110:22-23, p. 179). The fig tree also is prominent as a symbol in the New Testament, and at a crucial point in Jesus’ ministry became the subject of a curse (Matthew 21:18-20; 24:32; Luke 13:6-9; John 1:48; James 3:12; cf. Joel 2:22).

326 The story of Noah’s drunkenness is often given as the basis for this identification—see JST Genesis 9:24. For examples, see A. I. A. I. M. I. I. al-Tha’labi, *Lives*, p. 49; H. E. Gaylord, Jr., 3 *Baruch*, 6:15-17, p. 669; H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, pp. 577-579; H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 308; M. Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, *Making*, p. 37. On the possibility of polemical motivations for the identification of the forbidden fruit as the grape, see N. Koltun-Fromm, *Aphrahat*.

-
- 327 Or perhaps: Latin *pomum* (fruit) = French *pomme* (apple) (A. LaCocque, Trial, p. 95 n. 47).
- 328 B. Young, 8 October 1854, p. 98. President Young taught that Adam and Eve “partook of the fruit of the Earth, until their systems were charged with the nature of Earth.”
- 329 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 19. Elder Talmage describes Eve’s transgression as “indulgence in food unsuited to [her] nature.”
- 330 B. R. McConkie, *Sermons*, p. 189.
- 331 V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis 1-17*, p. 209. See also T. N. D. Mettinger, *Eden*, p. 20.
- 332 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 230-231. However, slightly weakening Barr’s claim, there are two exceptions among the 131 instances: Exodus 1:9 and 2 Samuel 12:27.
- 333 S. Lowy, *Principles*, p. 403.
- 334 B. R. McConkie, *New Witness*, p. 86; cf. A. Gileadi, *Studies*, p. 10; B. C. Hafen, *Broken*, p. 30.
- 335 D&C 88:28-32; R. J. Matthews, *Probationary Nature*, p. 56.
- 336 Cited in V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis 1-17*, p. 209 n. 6. Note that in the vision of Lehi there is not the same ultimacy when the fruit is eaten, since some, “after they had tasted of the fruit... were ashamed... and... fell away” (1 Nephi 8:28).
- 337 D&C 88:68.
- 338 C. W. Griggs, *Tree of Life*; S. D. Ricks, *Olive*; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Olive Oil*, pp. 429-430.
- 339 T. G. Madsen, *Gethsemane*; T. G. Madsen, *Sacrament*, p. 97; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Olive Oil*, p. 429.
- 340 Cf. G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, Latin 36:2, p. 40E; S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 36:1-3, pp. 39-40.
- 341 J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah 1*, 33:6, p. 351.
- 342 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 14 January 1833, p. 18.
- 343 J. O. Ryen, *Mandaean Vine*, p. 205.
- 344 *Judges 4:5*.
- 345 1 Kings 6:29, 32, 35, 7:36; 2 Chronicles 3:5; Ezekiel 40:16, 22, 26, 31, 34, 37; 41:18-20, 25-26.
- 346 John 12:12-13; cf. Revelation 7:9, 14.
- 347 *Qur’an 19:23-26*.
- 348 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, p. 82.

349 2 Nephi 2:15.

350 Alma 32:42.

351 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 166-167, 210, 658, 755-756. The imagery of three trees recalls the two Menorot that flank the scroll shrine in Palestinian synagogue mosaics (N. Wyatt, *Space*, p. 169). In Zechariah's vision, a seven-branched menorah is described as standing between two olive trees that provide a divine supply of oil and symbolizing "two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth" (Zechariah 4:14). The fact that these two trees symbolize anointed ones—probably understood at the time as the champions of temple reconstruction Joshua and Zerubbabel (Zechariah 1-8, Haggai)—reinforces the concept that such trees can represent individual persons.

In Christian imagery a related idea was often visually represented by a cruciform tree flanked by two small identical trees from Paradise (J. O'Reilly, *Iconography*, pp. 176, 178, 186, 188, 192-193). The centrally depicted "Tree of Mercy," said in other sources to have been planted by Seth over the grave of Adam, would be destined to bear "the fruit of the crucified Christ" (R. W. Baldwin, *Legend*. See also W. W. Isenberg, *Philip*, 73:15-19, p. 153; J. O. Ryen, *Mandaean Vine*, pp. 214-215, 221). Note the visual correspondence to the two thieves, crucified on either side of the Savior (Matthew 27:38).

The flanking trees depicted on the Holy Crown of Hungary surrounding an enthroned Christ are identified as *heavenly* cypresses (E. Tóth *et al.*, *Holy Crown*, pp. 23, 28). In imagery going back to pre-Christian times, the paired trees represent "the cypress-tree and life-giving water, the pattern of the two ways, to left or to right" (E. A. S. Butterworth, *Tree*, p. 216).

352 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, p. 658, 755-756. See also Ezekiel 41:20 which says, in describing the Holies in Solomon's temple, that "From the ground unto above the door were cherubims and palm trees made, and on the wall of the temple."

353 See, e.g., M.-B. Halford, *Eva und Adam*, pp. 279-281.

354 Intriguingly, there are hints of an "atonement" that is to take place among the trees of the Garden of Eden. In the *Zohar*, the originally unified Tree of Life and Tree of Knowledge is split by the transgression of Adam and Eve, though a promise is given that these trees would one day be made one again (G. Scholem, *Trends*, p. 232, see also 236 and 404-5 n. 105; G. Scholem, *Kabbalah*, pp. 112, 124-28, 166-68; D. C. Matt, *Zohar 1*, pp. 85, 222). The same theme is found in the mural of Ezekiel at Dura Europos, where, at the time of Israel's ultimate restoration, two split olive trees are brought back together into one (J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*, p. 29).

355 2 Peter 1:4. For recent exegesis of this phrase, see J. Starr, *Partakers*.

356 Moses 4:11; cf. Moses 4:28.

357 Moses 3:9.

358 The Hebrew literally means “in the center,” and derives from a root with the meaning “inner” (S. K. Brown, *Voices*, p. 175). The phrase serves to emphasize the prominent position of the tree—there would have been no need to add it if it was meant to be read “in the garden generally” as with all the other trees (U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 110). Likewise, in the *Zohar*, the Tree of Life is said to have been “precisely in the middle of the garden” (D. C. Matt, *Zohar* 1, Be-Reshit 1:35a, p. 220), where it is the source of the “river of emanation” which “proceeds from the highest *sefirot* [i. e., the greatest of the ten attributes of God] to the *Shekhinah* [i. e., the divine presence of God in the world, seen as the feminine aspect of Deity], the garden. Below Her, the unity of the divine yields multiplicity” (ibid., Be-Reshit 1:35b, p. 224).

359 Rashi, *Genesis Commentary*, 1:25.

360 Moses 4:9. See U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 111. Many commentators have “solved” the problem by assuming that the account originally spoke of only one tree, and that the Tree of Life was a late addition to the text. For a brief survey on the question of one or two trees, and related textual irregularities, see T. N. D. Mettinger, *Eden*, pp. 5-11.

361 M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, *Bereishis*, p. 96.

362 R. Guénon, *Symboles*, p. 325.

363 L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:91 n. 50.

364 E.g., Wahb bin Munabbih in al-Tabari, *Creation*, 1:106, p. 277. See also A. Birrell, *Mythology*, p. 233; L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 5:91 n. 50; J. C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, p. 96ff; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Olive Oil*, p. 430; B. M. Wheeler, *Prophets*, p. 23.

365 For a full and supportive analysis of this view, see T. N. D. Mettinger, *Eden*, especially pp. 34-41.

366 See H. W. Nibley, *Hierocentric*.

367 Often symbolized as a cosmic tree, the temple also “originates in the underworld, stands on the earth as a ‘meeting place,’ and yet towers (architecturally) into the heavens and gives access to the heavens through its ritual” (J. M. Lundquist, *Fundamentals*, p. 675).

368 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 288-289.

369 Isaiah 2:2.

370 Psalm 104:7-9.

371 J. M. Lundquist, *Meeting Place*, p. 7.

372 J. T. Townsend, *Tanhuma*, *Qedoshim* 7:10, *Leviticus* 19:23ff, Part 1, 2:309-310. See also J. M. Lundquist, *Meeting Place*, p. 7; J. M. Lundquist, *Temple of Jerusalem*, p.

26; Z. Vilnay, *Sacred Land*, pp. 5-6; O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 8:19, p. 73, 3:9-14, 27, pp. 59-60, 4:26, p. 63.

373 “The Holy One created the world like an embryo. As the embryo proceeds from the navel onwards, so God began to create the world from its naval onwards and from there it was spread out in different directions.’ The *Yoma* affirms: ‘The world has been created beginning from Zion’ (54b; cf. Psalm 50:2)” (M. Eliade, *Myth*, p. 16).

374 Cf. Ezekiel 5:5. Noting that the city of Numbers 35:5 “stands in the mathematical center (*tawek*) of the Levitical patrimony,” Levenson concludes that “the utopia in the school of Ezekiel [as found in chapter 48 also] seems to take literally the assertion of centrality in Ezekiel 5:5” and the translation of “navel” for *tabbur* in Ezekiel 38:12 (J. D. Levenson, *Temple and World*, p. 284).

375 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, pp. 571-574.

376 J. M. Lundquist, *Fundamentals*, pp. 666-671; cf. Matthew 6:10.

377 = Arabic “pilgrimage.” See R. C. Martin, *Encyclopedia*, 2:529-533; G. D. Newby, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 71-72.

378 = Arabic “cube.”

379 G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 83.

380 S. A. Ashraf, *Inner*, p. 125.

381 For more on related themes, see, e.g., N. Isar, *Dance of Adam*; F. M. Huchel, *Cosmic*; F. M. Huchel, *Cosmic (Book)*; H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*; H. W. Nibley, *Circle*.

382 Psalm 48:13f.

383 S. Mowinckel, *Psalms*, 1:181, 187.

384 D. J. Larsen, 2 June 2010. See W. O. E. Oesterley, *Early Hebrew*, pp. 132, 141-142.

385 D. J. Larsen, 3 June 2010. See D. W. Parry, *Psalm 24*. Parry notes other occurrences of *dôr* as circle in Psalm 14:5, 45:17, and 112:2.

386 Greek *empyros* (fiery); derived from *pyr* (fire)—and not to be confused with the unrelated term “imperial.” See, e.g., R. Giorgi, *Anges*, pp. 63-65.

387 See M. Barker, *Holy of Holies*, p. 185.

388 1 Nephi 1:8.

389 H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 17, p. 211. See also B. R. Bickmore, *Restoring*, pp. 304-306; N. Isar, *Dance of Adam*; F. M. Huchel, *Cosmic (Book)*.

390 E. Hennecke *et al.*, *NT Apocrypha*, Acts of John, 94, p. 227.

391 Matthew 6:10.

392 D. Blumenthal, *Merkabah*, p. 147.

393 Such symbolism illuminates the cosmology of the book of Abraham, where the planet Kolob is “set night unto the throne of God” (Abraham 3:9) with other planets in increasing distance from the center. The term Kolob “may derive from either of two Semitic roots with the consonants *QLB/QRB*. One has the meaning ‘to be near,’ as in Hebrew *qarob* (F. Brown *et al.*, *Lexicon*, p. 898)... The other meaning is ‘center, midst,’ as in Hebrew *qereb* (*ibid.*, p. 899)... In Arabic, *qalb* [heart, center] forms part of the names of several of the brightest stars in the sky, such as Antares... the constellation Scorpio... and Regulus... in the constellation Leo” (R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, pp. 289-290). See also H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 250-254, 259, 266.

394 3 Nephi 11:8.

395 E.g., 2 Nephi 22:6; 3 Nephi 11:8, 21:17-18; cf. Isaiah 12:6; Jeremiah 14:9; Hosea 11:9; Joel 2:27; Micah 5:13-14; Moses 7:69; Zechariah 3:5, 15, 17. See S. K. Brown, *Voices*, pp. 150-151; R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, pp. 150-151.

396 3 Nephi 17:12, 13.

397 3 Nephi 17:12.

398 3 Nephi 17:24.

399 S. K. Brown, *Voices*, pp. 147-148.

400 Matthew 18:4.

401 3 Nephi 17:23.

402 N. Wyatt, *Space*, p. 169; cf. E. R. Goodenough, *Method*, pp. 73-74. See also N. Wyatt, *Significance*. With reference to the burning of the bush, Wyatt notes the description from Zechariah’s vision (Zechariah 4:1-14) where two olive trees flank the menorah, incidentally providing it “with an uninterrupted supply of oil, so that it is, as all sacred fires should be, a perpetual fire—it burns, as it were, and is not consumed” (*ibid.*, p. 15).

Recall also the description in Orson Pratt’s remembrance of Joseph Smith’s First Vision where, as the light drew nearer, “it increased in brightness, and magnitude, so that, by the time that it reached the tops of the trees, the whole wilderness, for some distance around, was illuminated in a most glorious and brilliant manner. He expected to have seen the leaves and boughs of the trees consumed, as soon as the light came in contact with them” (D. C. Jessee, *First Vision*, p. 21; cf. D. Jones, *History*, p. 15). See note below about the controversy about the placement of the Menorah in Israelite temples, and its identification with the Tree of Life.

403 M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, *Bereishis*, p. 101, cf. p. 96. See also L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:70, 5:91 n. 50.

404 Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 3:5, p. 92. Note that the phrase “in the midst” was also used for the heavenly veil in the Creation account (Moses 2:6). For more on this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Tree of Knowledge*.

405 Brock in Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 52. See also Murray’s discussion of whether Ephrem’s imagery was influenced by the steps of the ziggurats, and whether a tradition can be traced linking Ephrem to Dante (R. Murray, *Symbols*, pp. 309-310).

406 E.g., G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 19:1a-19:1d, pp. 56E-57E; G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 53; M. Herbert *et al.*, *Irish Apocrypha*, p. 2 (“wall of red gold”). In at least one version of the story, Eve’s transgression of the boundary God had set in the midst of the Garden had been preceded by her deliberate opening of the gate to let the serpent enter the Garden’s outer wall (G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 19:1a-19:1d, pp. 56E-57E).

407 Reproduced from Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 10. Note that al-Khalesi rejects this particular reconstruction for Mari. If Parrot is wrong, the figure at least illustrates how such a layout might have been conceived in the ancient world.

408 H.-G. Bethge *et al.*, *Origin*, 110:14, 20, p. 179. Compare B. C. Hafen, *Disciple's Journey*.

409 Shelemon, *Book of the Bee*, 15, p. 21. Cf. J. E. Seaich, *Ancient Texts* 1995, pp. 568-577, 660-661.

410 E.g., M. Barker, *Hidden*, pp. 6-7; M. Barker, *Christmas*, pp. 85-86, 140. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 366-367 about the possibility that the story of the Garden of Eden included two different forms of a “Tree of Life,” one inside and one outside the veil. See also R. Murray, *Symbols*, pp. 115-116, 320-324. Widengren notes “the many allusions to the trees growing within the area of the sanctuary” and shows how the sceptre of the king represents a branch cut from one of the trees of Eden, recalling also the miraculously verdant rod of Aaron that was kept in the Ark of the Covenant (G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, pp. 36-41; cf. J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 658, 748-750; J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*, p. 29). Allusions in the Old Testament to the messiah as a “branch” are explored in G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, pp. 49-58.

Upending the scholarly consensus that has always seen the menorah as arboreal in form, Rachel Hachili’s exhaustive survey of evidence from art, architecture, and contemporary texts concluded that it was, instead, “a unique form with its inherent symbolism of light, ... not expressing vegetal or plant life” (R. Hachlili, *Menorah*, p. 39). She also concludes that its original form in Solomon’s temple was a “lampstand with a flaring base decorated on its upper section with a floral capital topped by a single bowl or lamp, as was common throughout the Ancient Near East” rather than the “seven-armed” version “inspired by the text of Exodus [25:31-32, 37:17-18]” (*ibid.*, p. 34). Hershel Shanks, following Carol Meyers, concurs with the idea that the

lampstands in Solomon's temple had only a single bowl, while observing that "a number of these bowls with pinches for seven wicks have been found" (H. Shanks, Jerusalem, p. 55, see photograph on p. 54). Could it be that the imagery of the seven-armed candlestick in the Holy of Holies, corresponding to the Tree of Life and associated with royal investiture (e.g., G. Widengren, *King and Tree of Life*, pp. 62-67), could have been later transferred to the single-branched lampstand that was originally found in the Holy Place? In any case, it seems clear that the author or final redactor of Exodus, as well as the author of Revelation 1:12-14, both had a flaming seven-armed menorah in mind when they penned their books. Providing evidence for an arboreal lamp in pre-exilic times, Goodenough has found a possible Palestinian prototype of the seven-armed tree form from the thirteenth century BCE, as well similar forms on objects from Susa and Khafaje dating to the fourth millennium BCE (E. R. Goodenough, *Method*, p. 73 and figures 3, 4, and 6).

411 M. Barker, *Older*, p. 221, see pp. 221-232.

412 M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GL 1:1, p. 429:3-20; cf. E. S. Drower, *Prayerbook*, 49, pp. 45-46.

413 D. F. Colvin, *Nauvoo Temple*, p. 220; S. B. Kimball, Heber C. Kimball, p. 117 M. McBride, *Nauvoo Temple*, pp. 264-265.

414 J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. 134.

415 G. E. Hansen, Jr. *et al.*, *Sacred Walls*.

416 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, p. 122.

417 M. B. Brown, *Gate*, p. 113.

418 D&C 107:19.

419 The placement of statues of gods and kings in the sanctuary was not uncommon in non-Israelite temples. For example, the inner sanctuary of the Court of the Palms at Mari was presumed to have contained statues of the king and other deities (Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 40).

420 R. Rosewell, *Paintings*, p. 37, caption to Figure 39.

421 Brock in Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 53. See also C. Buck, *Paradise*, pp. 259-288; A. S.-M. Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, p. 208.

422 J. E. Seaich, *Ancient Texts* 1995, p. 660, see also 568-77, 661, 807-09. For a summary of parallels in the imagery of merkavah mysticism and the experience of Israel at Sinai, see J. Magness, *Heaven*, p. 35 n. 238.

423 D. H. Verkerk, *Pentateuch*, pp. 90-98.

424 A. S.-M. Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne*, pp. 254-255, 205-206. See E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*, pp. 88, 90.

425 D. H. Verkerk, *Pentateuch*, p. 90. See Exodus 24:9-18.

426 *Ibid.*, p. 90. See Exodus 24:4-8. This eucharistic scene takes place in the presence of presbyters [elders], deacons, “the canonical widows, and subdeacons and deaconesses and readers [and] those who have gifts” (J. Cooper *et al.*, *Testament*, 1:23, p. 70; cf. D. H. Verkerk, *Pentateuch*, pp. 90-97).

427 D. H. Verkerk, *Pentateuch*, p. 98.

428 C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, p. 41. See also discussion of the arks of Noah and Moses, the ark of the covenant, and the story of Utnapishtim in *Gilgamesh* (N. Wyatt, *Water*, pp. 214-216).

429 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 210-211, Endnote 3-57; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 253-259.

430 J. D. G. Dunn *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 44. For more about the temple symbolism of the Ark, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 210-221.

431 See D&C 76:87, 112; Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 3:13-17, pp. 95-96.

432 In ancient Israel and in the Kirtland Temple, the starting point for this movement was in the east, with the destination of most holiness being to the west. However, the Nauvoo and Salt Lake temples had their holiest places oriented to the east, where light would be greatest (V. Brinkerhoff, *Day Star*, 2:28, 30-31). The east doors of the Salt Lake Temple “are reserved for the Savior in his millennial return” (*ibid.*, 2:30), however, in most modern temples, temple patrons enter through the door in a way that orients them “to the front of each of the initial ordinance rooms so that attention is focused on the concepts taught” (*ibid.*, 2:31). “LDS temples constructed between 1890 and 1980 face all four points of the compass.” However, consistent with what seems to be an increased attention to temple symbolism, President Hinckley is remembered by one of the temple architects to have stated: “Where possible, movement in temples should be from east to west” (*ibid.*, 2:30). For more on the direction of temple orientation and movement, see *ibid.*, 2:27-31, 42-44.

433 R. O. Cowan, *Dot*, p. 174.

434 Moses 3:8. To an ancient reader in the Mesopotamian milieu, the phrase “eastward in Eden” could be taken as meaning that the garden sits at the dawn horizon—the meeting place of heaven and earth. The pseudepigraphal *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* skillfully paints such a picture: “On the third day, God planted the Garden in the east of the earth, on the border of the world eastward, beyond which, towards the sun-rising, one finds nothing but water, that encompasses the whole world, and reaches unto the borders of heaven” (S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:1, p. 1). This idea corresponds to the Egyptian *akhet*, the specific place where the sun god rose every morning and returned every evening, and also to the Mandaean “ideal world” which was held to hang “between heaven and earth” (E. S. Drower, *Mandaeans*, p. 56; E. Lupieri, *Mandaeans*, p. 128). The Chinese *K'un-lun* also

“appears as a place not located on the earth, but poised between heaven and earth” (J. S. Major, *Heaven*, p. 156). The gardens of *Gilgamesh* and the Ugaritic *Baal* and *Mot* were liminally located at the “edges of the world” or, in other words, “at the borders between the divine and the human world” (T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 285-286). Similarly, 2 *Enoch* locates paradise “between the corruptible [earth] and the incorruptible [heaven]” (F. I. Andersen, 2 *Enoch*, 8:5, p. 116; cf. p. 116 n. l).

By its very nature, the horizon is not a final end point, but rather a portal, a place of two-way transition between the heavens and the earth. Writes Nibley: “Egyptians... never... speak of [the land beyond the grave] as an earthly paradise; it is only to be reached by the dead.’ ... [It] is neither heaven nor earth but lies between them... In a Hebrew Enoch apocryphon, the Lord, in visiting the earth, rests in the Garden of Eden and, moving in the reverse direction, passes through ‘the Garden to the firmament’ (See P. Alexander, 3 *Enoch*, 5:5, p. 260)... Every transition must be provided with such a setting, not only from here to heaven, but in the reverse direction in the beginning” (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 294-295. See also H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 16, pp. 198-199). “The passage from world to world and from horizon to horizon is dramatized in the ordinances of the temple, which itself is called the horizon” (Siegfried Schott, cited in *ibid.*, 16, p. 199). Situating this concept with respect to the story of Adam and Eve, the idea is that the Garden “was placed between heaven and earth, below the firmament [i.e., the celestial world] and above the earth [i.e., the terrestrial world], and that God placed it there... so that, if [Adam] kept [God’s] commands He might lift him up to heaven, but if he transgressed them, He might cast him down to this earth” (Shelemon, *Book of the Bee*, 15, p. 20).

Eastward orientation is not only associated with the rising sun, but also with its passage from east to west as a metaphor for time (N. Wyatt, *Space*, pp. 35-52; cf. Philo, *Exodus*, 1:7, p. 5). The Hebrew phrase *mi-kedem* (‘in the east’) in the Genesis account could also be translated “in the beginning” or “in primeval times” (T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 261-270; cf. Habakkuk 1:12). Likewise, for the Egyptians, the West, the direction of sunset, was the land of the dead—hence the many tombs built on the west bank of the Nile.

435 J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, pp. 41-42; T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 267-268.

436 The phrase “in the cool of the day” in Moses 4:14 can be translated as “in the wind, breeze, spirit, or direction” of the day—in other words, the voice is coming from the west, the place where the sun sinks (M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, *Bereishis*, pp. 122-123). Since, according to this reading, the voice is coming from the west, some commentators infer that Adam and Eve were then located on the east side—the end of the Garden furthest removed from the presence of the Lord—and possibly related to what Islamic commentary calls “the courtyard” (e.g., A. a.-S. M. H. at-Tabataba’i, *Al-Mizan*, 1:209). In other words, they seem to have one foot outside the Garden already (see J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image* 1, pp. 261, 280). Thus, God’s question to

Adam in the Genesis account—"Where art thou?"—might be taken as deeply ironic. In the view of Didymus, it is really not a question but rather "a statement of judgment as to what Adam has lost" (cited in G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 215-216). The idea of Adam and Eve being in the "courtyard" of Eden is an appropriate fit to the function of the outermost of the three divisions of the Israelite temple, a place of confession as the first step of reconciliation (J. L. Carroll, *Reconciliation*, pp. 96-99).

437 Moses 4:31.

438 Moses 5:41.

439 Genesis 11:2.

440 Genesis 13:11.

441 J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, p. 59 and Genesis 14:17-20.

442 T. L. Brodie, *Dialogue*, p. 117.

443 Matthew 2:1. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 673-674.

444 Malachi 3:1.

445 Joseph Smith-Matthew 1:26.

446 Alma 12:30.

447 Alma 12:37.

448 The individual that modern believers call the "Devil" is known by many names: "Satan," "Lucifer," "Beelzebub," "the serpent," and others. These names were not always synonymous, however, and each carries different shades of meaning. "Lucifer," for example, refers to the morning or day star (Venus), an epithet applied to the king of Babylon (Isaiah 14:12) and often interpreted typologically by Christians in reference to the fall from grace of one of God's primordial luminaries. In current LDS parlance, the name "Lucifer" is often used to refer to the Devil in his premortal role as one "in authority in the presence of God," as distinguished from the name "Satan," which describes the adversarial being he "became" subsequent to his being "thrust down" from heaven (D&C 76:25-29; Moses 4:1-4).

449 D&C 76:25-26, 28; see also Isaiah 14:4-23, Revelation 12:3-9, D&C 29:36-45, Abraham 3:27-28; cf. Daniel 8:10-12, Ezekiel 28:11-19, Luke 10:18, F. I. Andersen, 2 Enoch, 29:4-5, p. 148; L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:62-64, 5:84-86 n. 35.

450 Joseph Smith, cited retrospectively by George Laub (E. England, Laub, p. 28).

451 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 14 May 1843, p. 201.

452 Moses 4:4.

453 Moses 4:3.

454 For additional discussion of Mormonism's concept of Satan, his premortal strategy, and his role in the story of the Fall, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Mormonism's Satan*.

455 A commissioner is a "uniformed door attendant at a hotel, theatre, or other building." There is a flavor of officiousness in the term, with the related idea that the authority of such officers too often inheres solely in their neatly pressed uniform rather than in their person. All this fits Satan so well, his passionate insistence on being worshipped providing the sure sign of his insecurity (see, e.g., *Moses* 1:19, *Matthew* 4:9). The Devil "doth protest too much, methinks" (W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 3:2:230, p. 1164).

456 2 Nephi 9:41.

457 J.-L. Monneret, *Grands*, p. 481 n. 12; cf. M. i. A. A. al-Kisa'i, *Tales*, p. 28; al-Tabari, *Creation*, 1:94-97, pp. 266-269; G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 22.

458 *Qur'an* 2:30-33; cf. the idea of the naming as a test for Adam (vs. Satan) in al-Tabari, *Creation*, 1:97, p. 269; M. J. B. bin Gorion *et al.*, *Mimekor*, 3, 1:6-7; L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:62-64, 5:84-86 n. 35; E. G. Mathews, Jr., *Armenian*, p. 148 and n. 35; J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 17:4:2, p. 183; M.-A. Ouaknin *et al.*, *Rabbi Éliézer*, 13, pp. 87-88.

459 I. Zilio-Grandi, *Paradise*, pp. 84, 87; cf. D&C 107:18-19, 130:18-19, 131:5-6. This is a theme often mentioned in the teachings of Joseph Smith.

460 Adam and Eve, Adam and Eve. Compare J. T. Townsend, *Tanhuma*, 6:12, 3:171.

461 A. a.-S. M. H. at-Tabataba'i, *Al-Mizan*, 1:163.

462 Cited in I. Zilio-Grandi, *Paradise*, pp. 86-87.

463 *Qur'an* 2:37.

464 A. I. A. I. M. I. I. al-Tha'labi, *Lives*, p. 59; cf. M. i. A. A. al-Kisa'i, *Tales*, p. 60.

465 A. a.-S. M. H. at-Tabataba'i, *Al-Mizan*, 1:188-189, 211.

466 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, p. 39.

467 See, e.g., C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *Divine Names*, *passim*. Such descriptions recall President Brigham Young's succinct definition of the modern endowment ordinance: "Your endowment is to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being able to give them the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell" (B. Young, 6 April 1853 - B, p. 31).

The Coptic *Discourse on Abbaton*, which may have been influenced by texts of the same nature, explicitly associates "absolute authority" over the angels with a

knowledge of their names (E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*, pp. 58-59; cf. Judges 13:17-18) and, elsewhere, Josephus records that the Essenes were under a vow to preserve the names of the angels (F. Josephus, *Wars*, 2:8:7, p. 477). Hence, the frequent theme of danger for any possessor of the name who revealed it to an unauthorized party (J. B. Pritchard, *Unknown Name*; cf. Judges 16:4-20; B. H. Porter *et al.*, *Names*, pp. 508-513). Truman G. Madsen proposes that the idea that the “proper use of the name YHWH constitutes a covenant between Israel and her God” may be the reason behind the third commandment (T. G. Madsen, *Putting*, p. 459. According to Schimmel, a scholar of Islamic mysticism: “The Hope of discovering the Greatest Name of God has inspired many a Sufi who dreamed of reaching the highest bliss in this world and the next by means of this blessed name” (A. Schimmel, *Mystical*, p. 25; cf. B. H. Porter *et al.*, *Names*, pp. 510-512). The dedicatory prayer for Solomon’s temple stressed that it was not meant to be a residence for God, since He “lived in his ‘dwelling place in heaven’ but that the ‘name of God’ dwelt in the Temple” (W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Temple*, p. 27, cf. p. 182. See also 1 Kings 8:27-30; D&C 110:7). The shout of the people at Christ’s triumphal entry becomes more understandable when translated as “Blessed is he who comes *with* the Name of the Lord” (“With” = “in” in Hebrew (M. Barker, *Hidden*, p. 44; cf. Matthew 21:9). The meaning of being “willing to take upon [us] the name of Jesus Christ” in the sacrament is clear in light of temple ordinances (D. H. Oaks, *Taking Upon Us*; D. A. Bednar, *Name*, p. 98; D&C 20:77; 109:22, 26, 79).

468 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*.

469 J. Gee, *Keeper*, p. 235. Among other ancient documents from around the world, the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* takes up a similar theme as it describes the manner in which initiates were to advance past a series of gatekeepers through his knowledge of certain names (B. T. Ostler, *Clothed*, pp. 8-10).

470 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 451; cf. B. H. Porter *et al.*, *Names*, pp. 501-504; J. Assman, *Search*, pp. 83-110. The significance of “being willing to take upon [us] the name of Jesus Christ” (D&C 20:77) in the ordinance of the sacrament takes on additional meaning in light of LDS temple ordinances (D. H. Oaks, *Taking Upon Us*; D. A. Bednar, *Name*; see also D&C 109:22, 26, 79).

471 D. H. Oaks, *To Become*, p. 32. See also J. E. Faulconer, *Self-Image*.

472 H. W. Nibley, *Meaning of Temple*, p. 26.

473 See Alma 42:15-26.

474 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 2 July 1839, p. 162; cf. D&C 84:19-22.

475 S. W. Kimball, *Potential*; B. Young, 24 August 1872, pp. 136-139

476 Latin *cherub extentus* (R. Weber, *Vulgata*, Ezekiel 28:14, p. 1306), recalling the stretched out wings of the cherubim above the Ark (Exodus 25:20). See M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel* 21-37, pp. 583-584; D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, pp. 112-113.

477 Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Rebellion*, pp. 294-295.

478 “The association of swords with royal symbolism is found in many different cultural traditions. Swords are used in various cultures as symbols of investiture. The sword and the rod, for which it is a substitute, is also used as a mark of religious authority” (B. M. Wheeler, *Mecca*, p. 43).

479 B. Nichols, *Coronation*, p. 15.

480 L. M. Hilton, *Hand*. The garments and emblems of European kings resembled those of the Israelite high priest until the fashion of military dress eventually became the style (E. Tóth *et al.*, *Holy Crown*, p. 63). Though they are often pictured with an orb in their cupped hand, “no such ensign as an orb existed until the 11th century,” previous depictions having been entirely “symbolic” (*ibid.*, p. 57).

481 B. Nichols, *Coronation*, p. 15. In another part of the coronation ceremony, the new monarch will hold the Scepter with the Cross in the right hand as an “ensign of power and justice” and the Rod with the Dove in the left as a “symbol of equity and mercy” (*ibid.*, p. 18). Prior to all these ceremonies, the monarch is “divested of... robes” and “screen[ed]... from the general view” in order to be “imbued with grace” through the Archbishop’s anointing with holy oil “on hand, breast and forehead” (*ibid.*, p. 14). About ablutions and anointing of kings in other cultures, see S. D. Ricks *et al.*, *King*, pp. 241-244, 254-255. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 661-662.

482 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 14 May 1843, p. 297; cf. D&C 130:18-19.

483 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 14 May 1843, p. 200, spelling and punctuation standardized.

484 Cf. T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, p. 231.

485 Moses 4:28-31; Alma 12:23, 42:2-3.

486 Alma 12:23-24.

487 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Mormonism's Satan*. If we can trust the accuracy of a retrospective summary of a discourse by the Prophet from the journal of George Laub, it may help to clarify some of the differences between Satan’s premortal proposal and the Father’s plan: “Jesus Christ... stated [that] He could save all those who did not sin against the Holy Ghost and they would obey the code of laws that was given” (J. Smith, Jr., cited in E. England, Laub, discourse apparently given 7 April 1844, p. 22, spelling and punctuation standardized). From this statement, it seems that the kind of salvation promised by Jesus Christ was that all men, except the sons of perdition, would be “resurrected to [at least] a telestial glory, escaping the second, i.e., spiritual death” (B. R. McConkie, *Promised Messiah*, pp. 271-275; cf. D&C 76:43-44, J. F. Smith, *Gospel Doctrine*, pp. 433-435; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 10 March 1844, p. 339).

Satan, on the other hand, was reported in Laub's account of the Prophet's statement to have countered with an absurdly unconditional proposal: "Send me, I can save all, even those who sinned against the Holy Ghost" (see J. Smith, Jr., cited in E. England, Laub, discourse apparently given 7 April 1844, p. 22, spelling and punctuation standardized). Apparently trying to do away with the need for an atonement, Satan instead "sought... to redeem... all in their sins" (O. Pratt, 18 July 1880, p. 288; cf. S. J. Condie, Agency, p. 6, Helaman 5:10-11).

It is at the very least questionable whether or not such a "redemption" really would "save" anyone in any sense of the word worth caring about. Be that as it may, it is certain that without the empowering atonement, none could hope to ever attain the degree of righteousness and virtue required for *exaltation*—for, as President Brigham Young said, "if you undertake to save all, you must save them in unrighteousness and corruption" (B. Young, BY 30 October 1870, p. 282).

488 In LDS theology, "eternal life" is more than "immortality." It equates to "exaltation," the possibility of postmortal life as a gloriously resurrected being in the presence of God, coupled with the enjoyment of permanent family relationships.

489 Moses 4:6.

490 One careful reader suggested that I replace the obscure term "co-opt" with the more universally understood word "preempt." Since there is no real synonym for "co-opt," I admit that "preempt" would be perhaps the best equivalent, if a replacement term had to be supplied. "Preempt" conveys perfectly the idea that God is acting to stop Satan short. But what would be lost in the substitution is the idea that God, in His allowing the Devil to carry out the first part of his designs, was afterward able to *adopt Satan's strategy for His own use*. That was, it might be said, the most "diabolically clever" aspect of God's strategy.

491 B. C. Hafen, Broken, p. 30.

492 Nephi and John both identify Satan by referring to him figuratively as "that old Serpent" (2 Nephi 2:18; Revelation 12:9). However, changes to the Genesis account appearing in the book of Moses lead the reader to a literal interpretation of the term "serpent."

For example, Moses 4:6 says that: "Satan put it [i.e., the idea to beguile Eve] into the heart of the serpent, (for he had drawn away many after him,)." This JST change directly reinforces the idea that the serpent is not to be identified with Satan himself, but is rather a subsequently recruited accomplice. In addition, Moses 4:5 mentions the serpent simply as a "beast of the field which I, the Lord God, had made." The phrase in Moses 4:7, "And he [Satan] spake by the mouth of the serpent," further reinforces this same idea. Such an interpretation, however, should be considered in light of what is presented in the LDS temple endowment.

493 Moses 4:5.

-
- 494 V. P. Hamilton, Genesis 1-17, pp. 187-188.
- 495 See below; also Moses 1:19; D&C 50:2-3; 52:14; 128:20; 129:8; cf. G. A. Anderson *et al.*, Synopsis, 44:1-2a, p. 51E; R. Giorgi, Angles, pp. 85-88.
- 496 T. N. D. Mettinger, Eden, pp. 34-41.
- 497 M. Barker, Wisdom, p. 2.
- 498 J. O'Reilly, Iconography, p. 168. See also E. A. W. Budge, Cave, pp. 63-64.
- 499 Numbers 21:8-9; John 3:14-15; 2 Nephi 25:20; Alma 33:19; Helaman 8:14-15. See also J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, pp. 247-248. For a comprehensive study of the ambivalent symbolism of the serpent, see J. H. Charlesworth, Serpent.
- 500 K. R. Joines, Winged Serpents; J. H. Charlesworth, Serpent, pp. 444-445, see also pp. 30, 87, 220, 258, 332, 426.
- 501 R. D. Draper *et al.*, Commentary, p. 43. See John 5:25-26; 2 Nephi 9:3-26.
- 502 Ibid., pp. 42, 150-151.
- 503 Ephrem the Syrian, Paradise, 3:5, p. 92.
- 504 2 Nephi 9:41. This, then, becomes a type for the scene to which Paul alludes in his description of events that were to precede the second coming of Christ: "for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; *so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God*" (2 Thessalonians 2:3-4, italics mine).
- 505 M. C. Thomas, Women, p. 53.
- 506 See, e.g., M. Barker, Temple Theology, p. 28; M. Barker, Boundary, pp. 215-217; H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, 10, p. 117; cf. J. Smith, Jr., Documentary History, 27 November 1832, 1:299.
- 507 For examples, see, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, Moses 1:27b, pp. 62-63.
- 508 M. i. A. A. al-Kisa'i, Tales, p. 82.
- 509 As an example from a Jewish ascension text, Nibley points out that at the outset of the heavenly journey of Abraham and Yahoel to the presence of God, "the angel promises to show Abraham what is 'in the fulness of the whole world and its *circle*—thou shalt gaze in (them) all' (G. H. Box, Apocalypse, 12, p. 51). Accordingly he saw the pattern of the heavens, 'the firmaments, ... the creation foreshadowed it this expanse,... the age prepared according to it. And I saw beneath the sixth heaven, ... the earth and its fruits, and what moved upon it... and the power of its men.... And I saw there a great multitude—men and women and children, [half of them on the right side of the picture] and half of them on the left side of the picture' (ibid., 21, pp. 66-67)" H. W. Nibley, Abraham 2000, pp. 42-43. For an extensive discussion of other

examples, see H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 188-585; H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 42-73.

510 G. J. Wenham, *Sanctuary Symbolism*, p. 403.

511 Exodus 25:16, Deuteronomy 31:26.

512 2 Samuel 6:7, Numbers 4:20.

513 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 516-518, 658-660, 665-669, 679-681; J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*.

514 M. Barker, M. Barker, *Hidden*, pp. 6-7. See also M. Barker, *Revelation*, pp. 120, 205; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, p. 17 n. 7

515 H. W. Nibley, *Return*, p. 54; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, p. 310. For more on this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 658-660.

516 M. Barker, *Older*, p. 82.

517 A. E. Harvey, *Companion* 2004, p. 533.

518 M. Barker, *Older*, p. 82; cf. JST Genesis 14:30-31.

519 Matthew 27:51, Mark 15:38. In this connection, Nibley writes (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 444; cf. J. E. Seaich, *Ancient Texts* 1995, pp. 870-875; J. E. Seaich, *Ancient Texts* 1983, pp. 56-57):

The *Gospel of Philip* depicts the rending of the veil not as the abolition of the temple ordinances, as the church fathers fondly supposed, but of the opening of those ordinances to all the righteous of Israel, "in order that we might enter into... the truth of it." "The priesthood can still go within the veil with the high priest (i.e., the Lord)." We are allowed to see what is behind the veil, and "we enter into it in our weakness, through signs and tokens which the world despises" (see W. W. Isenberg, *Philip*, 85:1-20, p. 159).

520 Recalling an Egyptian version of the story, which revolved around the presumption of the hero, Setne, "in taking the book of Knowledge, which was guarded by the endless serpent" (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 310), Nibley noted the fact that "a *book* of knowledge is certainly more logical than a *tree* of knowledge" (*ibid.*, p. 311). For a Jewish account of a book of knowledge given to Adam in Eden, see S. Savedow, *Reziah*, pp. 2-4.

521 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 177-179 n. 3:19b.

522 G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 26. The Islamic account recalls an incident in the *Gospel of Thomas* (H. Koester *et al.*, *Thomas*, 13, pp. 127-128), where "Jesus reveals three words" to Thomas which, Barker concludes, "must have been the three words of the secret Name" (M. Barker, *Hidden*, p. 42).

523 G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 30. For a similar theme in the story of the Watchers, see, e.g., G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 9:6-7, p. 202; A. I. A. I. M. I. I. al-Tha'labi, *Lives*, p. 88

524 M. E. Stone, *Adamgirk*, p. 53 n. 108 and 1:3:70, p. 101.

525 *Ibid.*, 3:2:5, p. 53.

526 *Ibid.*, 1:3:71, p. 101. Note, however, that this promise actually would reach its complete fulfillment through taking of the Tree of Life, not merely of the Tree of Knowledge as deceptively asserted here by Satan.

527 *Ibid.*, 1:3:27, p. 96, emphasis added.

528 D&C 88:68.

529 J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 11 April 1842, 5:135. Though Satan seems to have been aware of what had been done in *other* worlds, Moses 4:6 states that he “knew not the mind of God” with respect to *this* one. Satan’s shortsighted strategy can only be explained in terms of an effort to opportunistically exploit his discovery of certain differences between this world and the “other worlds” of which he had cognizance; and God’s success in co-opting the Devil’s strategy depended on Satan’s ignorance of the ultimate purpose for these differences. See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Mormonism's Satan*.

According to Brock, Ephrem’s answer for “why God did not from the very first grant to Adam and Eve the higher state he had intended for them... illustrates the very prominent role which he allocates to human free will” (Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 59). In his *Commentary on Genesis*, Ephrem writes (Ephrem the Syrian, *Commentary*, 2:17, p. 209):

God had created the Tree of Life and hidden it from Adam and Eve, first, so that it should not, with its beauty, stir up conflict with them and so double their struggle, and also because it was inappropriate that they should be observant of the commandment of Him who cannot be seen for the sake of a reward that was there before their eyes. Even though God had given them everything else [in the Garden of Eden] out of Grace, He wished to confer on them, out of Justice, the immortal life which is granted through eating of the Tree of Life. He therefore laid down this commandment. Not that it was a large commandment, commensurate with the superlative reward that was in preparation for them; no, He only withheld from them a single tree, just so that they might be subject to a commandment. But He gave them the whole of Paradise, so that they would not feel any compulsion to transgress the law.

530 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 129; cf. C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *Divine Names*, pp. 372-373. Morray-Jones, following Chernus, notes however that, at least in some cases, “underlying these traditions is a theme of ‘initiatory death,’ ... leading to rebirth” (C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *Transformational*, p. 23).

531 H. W. Nibley, *Return*, p. 63. See T. N. D. Mettinger, *Eden*, pp. 90-92 for a discussion of how, in Job 15:7-8, we are made to understand that the “wisdom of the first human being is the quality that was seized by the first man in the divine council. The situation is not one of eavesdropping. Rather, the first man supposedly had access to the divine assembly... [and] this wisdom was attained without divine authorization.”

532 H. W. Nibley, *Gifts*, p. 92.

533 From Latin *limbus*, referring to the edge or boundary of hell.

534 R. Giorgi, *Anges*, pp. 46-49; cf. 1 Peter 3:18-21, 4:6 and Ephesians 4:8-10—paraphrasing Psalm 68:18. In recent years, the concept of Limbo for unbaptized children has increasingly fallen into disfavor in the Roman Catholic Church (International Theological Commission, *Hope*).

535 See *Harrowing*, *Harrowing*.

536 The jaws and teeth of the gates shown here are vestiges from imagery connecting the abyss of hell to the stomach of Leviathan or the great fish that swallowed Jonah. In the Harrowing of Hell, “Christ shoves the cross into death’s gullet and forces it to vomit up souls” (C. W. Bynum, *Resurrection*, p. 148n. 102; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 192-199).

537 Galatians 2:9; M. R. James, *Apocryphal*, p. 140.

538 R. Giorgi, *Anges*, pp. 46-48.

539 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 158, 175. See also T. M. Compton, *Handclasp*, pp. 620-621 S. D. Ricks, *Dexiosis*, Mosiah 22:22.

540 H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, p. 310. See C. Schmidt, *Pistis*, 3:135, pp. 701-705.

541 1 Corinthians 2:9.

542 D&C 76:89.

543 2 Nephi 9:41.

544 Mormon 6:17.

545 Mormon 5:11.

546 See 1 Peter 4:12-14.

547 N. A. Maxwell, *Quote*, 14 October 1996, p. 137.

548 N. A. Maxwell, *Wherefore*, p. 73.

549 E. A. S. Butterworth, *Tree*, pp. 74-75; cf. Genesis 21:19; Numbers 24:3-4; 2 Kings 6:17-20. See also Butterworth’s discussion of 1 Samuel 14:24-30 where the honey is compared to the “secret knowledge” of the seer (*ibid.*, p. 78).

550 H. W. Nibley, *Patriarchy*, pp. 92-93.

551 Moses 4:13.

552 2 Nephi 9:14; cf. Mormon 9:4-5. See also D. E. Bokovoy *et al.*, Testaments, pp. 61-65; J. R. Holland, Christ, pp. 244-245.

553 R. Alter, David, p. 251; cf. G. J. Wenham, Genesis 1-15, p. 75.

554 R. Coles, Secular Mind, p. 12.

555 M. B. Brown, Girded, p. 130.

556 Moses 2:28.

557 W. Smith *et al.*, Dictionary, 2:1307. The image also appears in M. B. Brown, Girded, p. 137.

558 See, e.g., D. E. Wirth, Parallels, p. 106 and pp. 109-110, Figures 6.23, 6.24.

559 Cf. Daniel 4:20, 22: "The tree... is thou, O king." See also Judges 9:7-21; E. D. Clark, Cedars; T. Stordalen, Echoes, pp. 89-92, 100-101, 291. Cf. Adam and Eve as "saplings" destined to become "cedars of Lebanon" in D. C. Matt, Zohar 1, Be-Reshit, 1:35a-b, pp. 220-222.

560 Moses 4:12.

561 Genesis 11:1-9.

562 Genesis 16:1-4.

563 Genesis 27:1-40.

564 J. H. Sailhamer, Genesis, p. 61.

565 2 Corinthians 11:12-15; 2 Nephi 9:9; D&C 128:20, 129:4-7; J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 1 April 1842, pp. 204-205; B. T. Ostler, Clothed, p. 6; R. Giorgi, Anges, pp. 85-88, see also p. 234.

566 D. C. Matt, Zohar 1, Be-Reshit 1:36b, p. 229, 1:53b, pp. 296-297, p. 229 nn. 990-991, and p. 297 n. 1433.

567 Cf. 2 Nephi 32:8.

568 J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 5 October 1840, p. 169 and 22 January 1834, p. 58.

569 M. B. Brown, Girded, p. 145. See Matthew 7:15; 3 Nephi 14:15; cf. Zechariah 13:4.

570 Moses 4:14.

571 = "au milieu de l'arbre du jardin" (A. Chouraqui, Bible, p. 22); cf. M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, Bereishis, p. 123; J. N. Sparks *et al.*, Orthodox Study Bible, p. 8. An Islamic tradition also relates that: "Adam went inside of the tree to hide" (Wahab b. Munabbih in B. M. Wheeler, Prophets, p. 25).

572 E. Kastler, Commentaire. See also the story of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 4:10-28). For literary parallels to the motif of a soul being shut up in a tree, see e.g., Ariel in *The Tempest* (W. Shakespeare, *Tempest*, 1:2:275-293, p. 1615), Fradubio in *The Faerie Queene* (E. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 1:2:42, see n. Stanza 42, 8-9, p. 52), Polydorus in

the *Aeneid* (Virgil, *Aeneid*, 3, pp. 70-71), and Pier delle Vigne in the forest of suicides in the *Divine Comedy* (D. Alighieri, *Commedia*, 13). Similar themes appear in stories about Osiris, Adonis, Attis, and Dionysus (see convenient summaries in, e.g., J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, though Frazer's inferences are not always to be trusted). See also D. E. Wirth, *Parallels*, p. 105.

573 Perhaps the symbolism of death and rebirth is behind an enigmatic assertion in the *Sepher Rezial*. After stating that "Adam and his wife are concealed in the middle of the tree in the garden," the text adds: "It is not a cemetery" (S. Savedow, *Rezial*, In the beginning, para. 7, p. 63).

574 A. Guilleux, *Temple de Derr*.

575 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 309. The imagery immediately recalls the many clay figures of the goddess Asherah found in Jerusalem (for a photograph, see, e.g., H. Shanks, *Jerusalem*, p. 94). Consistent with Margaret Barker's research (e.g., M. Barker, *Queen*), Frederick Huchel concludes that an Asherah "originally stood next to the Ark-Throne of YHWH in the Holy of Holies. The original Asherah, apparently, had the base of a tree, rose to a pillar-like trunk, had the torso of Asherah, and was surmounted by the bowl of the seven lamps" (F. M. Huchel, July 14 2010).

576 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 289, see also pp. 288-293.

577 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

578 A. I. A. I. M. I. I. al-Tha'labi, *Lives*, p. 557 and p. 557 n. 15; cf. M. A. Knibb, *Isaiah*, 5:1-14, pp. 163-164 and pp. 146-147.

579 M. A. Knibb, *Isaiah*, 6:1-11:43, pp. 164-176.

580 Perhaps this idea arose by association with reports of the martyrdom of Zacharias reported in Matthew 23:35 "the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar"). "Has Zakariya died his natural death, or was he killed? There are two opinions in this regard. In one opinion from Wahb bin Munabbih, it is said that Zakariya fled from his people and had hid inside a tree. His people brought a saw and started sawing the tree. When the saw reached the ribs of Zakariya, he screamed. Allah then revealed to him: 'If your scream [does] not cease, I shall turn the earth upside down.' He stopped screaming and was cut in two pieces. However, in another version of the *Hadith* from Idris bin Sinan, Wahb says: The one to whom the tree opened itself was Isaiah and Zakariya died his natural death" (I. Ibn Kathir, *Stories*, pp. 534-535).

581 The image at left represents the heavenly ascent Isaiah experienced earlier in his ministry (Isaiah 6), a foreshadowing of the final glorious resurrection he experienced after his martyrdom. For a parallel pattern in the experience of Ezekiel as depicted in ancient Judaism, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*, pp. 29-32.

582 Michel Graulich summarizes Mesoamerican stories of Creation and the original transgression (M. Graulich, *Myths*, p. 53; cf. D. E. Wirth, *Guide*, pp. 47-49). Frequently appearing elements of these stories include the idea of a seducer and a guilty party; a transgression involving the eating or cutting of branches, flowers, or fruit; an expulsion to the earth or the underworld; and the consequent introduction of evils, misfortunes, or discord (M. Graulich, *Myths*, p. 55). Graulich laments the fact that “modern authors, attributing these myths to Christian influence, often dismiss Mesoamerican allusions to the original paradise and to transgression even though they are very well documented” (*ibid.*, pp. 284-285 n. 21). Of course, the ancient sources are diverse and complex, and many gods and goddesses of Mesoamerica overlap one another—the different names constituting a particular aspect of that god. For this reason, the opinions of scholars may vary widely, and brief summaries cannot really do the subject full justice. For additional discussion, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 697-701, 782-783.

Another interesting legend of the Fall that—according to Leo Frobenius, cannot be attributed to Christian “missionary influence”—comes from the Bassari tribe of northern Togo:

Unumbotte made a human being. Its name was Man. Unumbotte next made an antelope, named Antelope. Unumbotte made a snake, named Snake. At the time these three were made there were no trees but one, a palm. Nor had the earth been pounded smooth. All three were sitting on the rough ground, and Unumbotte said to them: “The earth has not yet been pounded. You must pound the ground smooth where you are sitting.” Unumbotte gave them seeds of all kinds, and said: “Go plant these.” Then Unumbotte went away:

Unumbotte came back. He saw that the three had not yet pounded the earth. They had, however, planted the seeds. One of the seeds had sprouted and grown. It was a tree. It had grown tall and was bearing fruit, red fruit. Every seven days Unumbotte would return and pluck one of the red fruits.

One day Snake said: “We too should eat these fruits. Why must we go hungry?” Antelope said: “But we don’t know anything about this fruit.” Then Man and his wife took some of the fruit and ate it. Unumbotte came down from the sky and asked: “Who ate the fruit?” They answered: “We did.” Unumbotte asked: “Who told you that you could eat that fruit?” They replied: “Snake did.” Unumbotte asked: “Why did you listen to Snake?” They said: “We were hungry.” Unumbotte questioned Antelope: “Are you hungry, too?” Antelope said: “Yes, I get hungry. I like to eat grass.” Since then, Antelope has lived in the wild, eating grass.

Unumbotte then gave sorghum to Man, also yams and millet. And the people gathered in eating groups that would always eat from the same bowl, never the bowls of other groups. It was from this that differences in language arose. And ever since then, the people have ruled the land.

But snake was given by Unumbotte a medicine with which to bite people (J. Campbell, *Historical Atlas: 1 - The Way of the Animal Powers*, 1:14).

583 V. G. Norman, *Izapa Part 2*, p. 202, also cited in B. A. Gardner, *Second Witness*, 1:168.

584 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 290, Figure 95. Nibley writes: "At least from the beginning of the New Kingdom, every major city in Egypt had a tomb of Osiris that was sheltered by a tree, which was represented as the cedar of Byblos sheltering the coffin of Osiris in that city... From the long *Book of Breathings*, we learn that there was a cave beneath the *ished*-tree. According to the well-known legend, Osiris was actually shut up in the cedar tree and had to be liberated from it in order to be resurrected. Joseph's grave was an *Urhügel* at Shechem, sheltered by a tree, in Egyptian fashion" (*ibid.*, p. 290).

585 N. Arnon, *Machpela*, p. 213.

586 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, p. 473.

587 G. R. Murphy, *Gemstone*, p. 25.

588 R. O. Faulkner *et al.*, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 8, 9, 112-113.

589 Larsen notes a parallel to the idea of the Tree of Knowledge as a place of death or prison escaped by splitting in the "more prevalent image of the 'waters' that are a prison/death (the tree and waters being parallel symbols, of course). The psalms are full of imagery where the king or other individual is perishing in the waters of the Underworld and cries out for deliverance. He is often delivered by the hand of God. We know that Yahweh conquered the waters by 'splitting' or dividing them (e.g., Exodus 15, Psalms 18:15-16; 69:1-2, 14; 77:16-17, 19; 78:13; 89; Job 26:5; 38:25)" (D. J. Larsen, 3 June 2010).

Nibley discusses similar themes in Egyptian sources, where the "dark and dangerous" otherworldly waters are passed through in one of four ways: "(1) by baptism, (2) by drowning, (3) by swimming, and (4) by boat, all ritually related" (H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 152, see pp. 152-154). For example, he gives an parallel to this theme from the Memphite Theology: "Osiris is overcome and either thrown into the water or drowned... by the wicked Seth [17c, 19; cf. 62].... And Horus gave an order and cried out to [Isis and Nephthys], 'Ladies, go rescue him and take him from the water and prevent his drowning' [18c, 19, 20a, 21a; cf. 62]. [J]ust in time they catch him and bring him up again upon the land [20b, 21b; cf. 63]" (H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 8, p. 107, 10, pp. 117-119; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Expanding 1992*, pp. 182-184. For a standard translation, see M. Lichtheim, *Memphite*).

Nibley discerns the same ritual pattern in *Moses 1:20ff.*, where: "...true to the ancient pattern, the hero is momentarily bested, overcome by the powers of darkness... But with his last ounce of strength he calls upon God from the depths and is delivered: he has won the fight, he has prevailed against the power of him who 'sought to destroy

the world, for he knew not the mind of God” (H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, p. 5. See Moses 4:6; cf. JS-H 1:15-17). “This is the *de profundis*. That’s the 130th Psalm... ‘Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord’” (H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 18, p. 219. See also H. W. Nibley, *Return*, p. 75). Just as in the myth of Osiris, the “final test is the baptism... Moses is delivered from the waters and comes out” (H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 10, p. 118). In the typology of such tests, the righteous are raised in glory while the wicked drown and perish (Exodus 14:27-30, 1 Peter 3:18-21).

590 J. Assman, *Death*, p. 335.

591 R. H. Wilkinson, *Art*, p. 65.

592 For more on the history of the synagogue at Dura Europos, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*. For a discussion of the history of Khirbet Samara, see L. I. Levine, *Synagogue*, pp. 188-191.

593 J. M. Lundquist, *Temple of Jerusalem*, p. 26.

594 Y. M. al-Khalesi, *Palms*, p. 57.

595 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

596 See T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, p. 22 n. 20 for a discussion of the treelike appearance of the posts in Solomon’s temple.

597 See J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. 132, plate 22.

598 J. M. Bradshaw, *Ezekiel Mural*, pp. 11-12.

599 See, e.g., E. R. Goodenough, *Dura Symbolism*, 9:67-77.

600 Moon observes that Jewish women “depicted in the synagogue frescoes wear pink, brown, beige, and beige-yellow—not white, forbidden by the Mishnah. White, we should explain, was exclusive to men, especially to those of status, as the figures of Moses and others in the frescoes attest... [In addition,] Jewish women were required to cover their head” (W. G. Moon, *Nudity*, pp. 596-597).

601 M. Barker, *Temple Themes*, p. 28.

602 Others have interpreted the divine hand as “staying the sacrifice” of Isaac (e.g., L. Liebman, *Gavestone*).

603 R. S. Hendel, *Demigods*, p. 23. Cf. D. H. Oaks, *Plan, Plan*, p. 73, where Adam and Eve’s actions are also seen as a transgression of the limits of Eden but, in contrast to Hendel, this transgression is characterized in relationship to the barrier between the Garden and mortal life, as opposed to the Garden and divine life.

604 T. N. D. Mettinger, *Eden*, p. 127. Mettinger quotes from R. A. Oden, Jr., *Divine Aspirations*, p. 211. Ephrem contrasts the Tower of Babel with the true Tower given by Christ (R. Murray, *Symbols*, pp. 222-223).

605 J. J. Collins, *Sons of God*, p. 263.

606 See, e.g., T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 27-28 n. 32.

607 Genesis 9:1-77, cf. JST Genesis 9:1-25. See Wyatt's discussion of Wensinck's pattern of chaos (flood), creation (exodus), and covenant in Genesis, Exodus, Deutero-Isaiah, the Pseudepigrapha, and the Gospels (N. Wyatt, *Water*, pp. 222-225).

608 On the possibility that the sacrifice was offered within the 'temple' of the ark rather than at the top of a mountain, see *ibid.*, p. 215.

609 Genesis 9:20.

610 Genesis 9:21-27.

611 While some traditions take the fruit of the vine as an analogue to the Tree of Knowledge (e.g., L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:168), it is better understood in this instance as a representation of the Tree of Life (e.g., H. W. Nibley, *Since*, p. 189). Note that the fruit of the Tree of Life is sometimes described as being like a "white grape" (H.-G. Bethge *et al.*, *Origin*, 110:15-16, p. 179; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 *Enoch* 1, 32:4, p. 320), and according to 3 *Baruch*, Noah planted it at God's insistence, and with the promise that it would be a blessing to him (H. E. Gaylord, Jr., 3 *Baruch*, 4:15 (Greek), p. 669). Nibley cites a parallel to "the most ancient of all recorded festivals, the wine feast of intoxication that celebrates the ending of the Flood" (H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, pp. 578-579; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 475-476; H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, p. 312).

Cohen, having explored the "symbolic meaning of wine in ancient cultures," concludes that Noah's actions in this regard have been completely misunderstood, the result of "biblical scholarship's failure" in explaining the meaning of the enigmatic incident. Summarizing Cohen's view, Haynes writes:

Cohen explores Israelite and other traditions to elucidate a complex relationship between alcohol, fire, and sexuality. Drawing on this connection, he surmises that Noah's drunkenness is indicative not of a deficiency in character but of a good-faith attempt to replenish the earth following the Flood. Indeed, Noah's "determination to maintain his procreative ability at full strength resulted in drinking himself into a state of helpless intoxication." How ironic, Cohen notes, that in acceding to the divine command to renew the earth's population, Noah suffered the opprobrium of drunkenness. In Cohen's view, he "deserves not censure but acclaim for having played so well the role of God's devoted servant" (S. R. Haynes, *Curse*, pp. 188-189; see H. H. Cohen, *Drunkenness*, pp. 8, 12).

612 T. L. Brodie, *Dialogue*, p. 192.

613 Koler and Greenspahn, as discussed in W. Vogels, *Cham Découvre*, pp. 566-567. Cf., e.g., D. C. Matt, *Zohar* 1, 1:73a-b, p. 434 n. 700.

614 Compare Moses 3:9; 4:9, 14.

615 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, Endnote E-115, p. 733; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 297-311.

616 2 Chronicles 26:16-21.

617 Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 3:13-15, pp. 95-96.

618 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 26 and *Exodus* 20:26; 28:42-43.

619 Revelation 22:1-3, G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, Greek 22:4, p. 62E.

620 G. B. Eden, *Mystical Architecture*, p. 22; cf. the idea of “the luxuriant sacred tree or grove... as a place of divine habitation” in D. E. Callender, *Adam*, p. 51, cf. pp. 42-54. See also T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 173, 293. “The rectangular box [of the ark of the covenant] served a double function, being both the footstool of a throne and a chest. Understood as a footstool, the ark of the covenant extends the heavenly throne to the earth; this is where the divine king’s feet touch the earth. Consequently, the tabernacle links heaven and earth. As a chest, the ark of the covenant stores various items. The most important of these are the treaty or covenant documents that set out the obligations place dupon the Israelites by God” (T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 33-14). In this sense, when Israel breaks the covenant, they rupture the link between heaven and earth.

Larsen argues that the throne was near or perhaps part of the Tree of Life: “Hocart said that in ancient cultures, the throne of the king represented a womb, the womb from which he was born [A. M. Hocart, *Kingship*, p. 80—Hocart was writing about kingship in India, but see a similar motif in Barker’s analysis of Psalm 110:3 (M. Barker, *Who was Melchizedek*; M. Barker, *Christmas*, pp. 104-106)]. This would make sense if the Tree of Life is also seen as the Mother of the king [see, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, p. 164]... Also, Revelation 22 seems to equate the Tree of Life and the Waters of Life with the Throne of God” (D. J. Larsen, 3 June 2010).

621 Esther 4:11.

622 See A. Berlin, *Esther*, pp. 51-52.

623 Esther 5:1-2.

624 G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 25.

625 R. Milstein, *Stories and Illustrations*, p. 107.

626 G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 32.

627 W. Barnstone *et al.*, *Mother*, p. 672.

628 “Vorhang der Sicherheit” (M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GL 1:1, p. 429).

629 M. E. Stone, *Descendants*, 14-22, p. 85. In some texts, Enoch is seen as having reversed the Fall of Adam (A. A. Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, p. 248). For a discussion of

a wider redemptive role attributed to Enoch, see A. A. Orlov, *Redeeming Role and A. A. Orlov, Polemical Nature*.

630 Mosiah 8:13.

631 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 443; see C. Schmidt, *Pistis*, 1:29-30, pp. 83-91; G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis*, 1:29-30, pp. 33-36. For a general discussion of such dangers, see J. Dan, *Mysticism*, 1:261-309.

632 Alma 12:30.

633 K. E. McVey, in *Ephrem the Syrian, Hymns*, p. 297.

634 Cf. Ephesians 2:14; Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 63.

635 Ephrem the Syrian, *Virginité*, 16:10, p. 332.

636 *Hymn on Virginité* 8:1, cited in Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, p. 61.

637 Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymn on the Church* 49:16, cited in *ibid.*, p. 61; cf. *Hymn on Paradise* 7:8.

638 Sebastian Brock in *ibid.*, p. 61.

639 *Commentary on the Diatessaron* 49:9-11, cited in *ibid.*, pp. 61-62, also pp. 64-66.

640 M. Barker, *Temple Theology*, p. 89. See G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 44(22):3-4, p. 62E. An Islamic source likewise reports that God's voice of judgment came "from the tree" (G. Weil, *Legends*, p. 32).

641 P. Conisbee, *Art*.

642 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 259-260.

643 D. Rasmussen, *Question*, p. 7.

644 U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, pp. 155-156.

645 Moses 5:34.

646 Rashi draws additional parallels to the Lord's dialogues with Hagar, Balaam, and Hezekiah (Rashi, *Genesis Commentary*, 1:34). See Genesis 16:8, Numbers 22:9, and Isaiah 39. Compare Ether 3:7: "Arise, why hast thou fallen?"

647 E. E. Kastler, *Commentaire*. Cassuto points out examples from elsewhere in the Bible where the verb "call" "is used in the sense of to summon a person to give an account of his actions" (U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 155 and, e.g., Genesis 12:18, 20:9, 26:9-10; Deuteronomy 25:8).

648 V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis* 1-17, p. 193.

649 D. A. Bednar, *Seek*, p. 63.

650 J. Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, 17:22, cited in A. Louth *et al.*, *Genesis* 1-11, p. 85.

651 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 138. Cf. Jubilees: “the Lord cursed the serpent and he was angry with it forever” (O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 3:23, p. 60). The penalty placed upon the serpent symbolizes the curse placed upon those that followed Lucifer in the premortal life: “Throughout eternity [those who followed Lucifer in premortal life] will remain lower than the cattle or the beasts of the field, for even the beasts have bodies of flesh and bone and enjoy the privilege of resurrection, whereas the Devil and his angels remain unembodied spirits forever” (J. F. McConkie *et al.*, *Revelations*, p. 271). Even in the millennial day, when all the rest of Creation will enjoy peace and plenty, “dust [still] shall be the serpent’s meat” (Isaiah 65:25). In cultures where the serpent was worshipped, this curse also proclaimed the eventual humiliation of all false gods, and the firm requirement of submission to the Lord as the only object of worship (T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, p. 470).

Nibley elucidates the symbolic meaning of the figurative indignity imposed on the serpent by his loss of legs: “The loss of limbs and organs guarantees that the rebel will never rise anew in his full powers, which he will never possess again. He may never more progress, being... bound in one place” (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 317).

In an early Christian text, the Savior is portrayed as discussing the results of Lucifer’s intransigence at the time of his fall from heaven. The text echoes the theme of Satan’s loss of powers as the result of his rebellion:

And when My Father saw [Satan’s] pride and arrogance, and knew that his wickedness and evil-doing were as great as his pride, He commanded the hosts of heaven, saying: “Take away the writing from the hand of this arrogant one, strip off his armor, and cast him down to the earth, for his time has come. He is chief of the rebels and is like a king to them, and he commands them as a captain commands his troops; and the names of the rebels are written in the list which is in his hand.” And the angels gathered themselves together, but they hesitated to take the list from the rebel’s hand. Then My Father commanded them to bring a sharp reaping knife, and to thrust it into his sides and through his body, and to sever the bones of his back and shoulders; and he was unable to stand. Then My Father commanded a mighty angel to smite him and to cast him out of heaven, because of his pride; and the angel crushed in his ribs, and broke his wings, and he and those angels who were with him became devils. (Timothy of Alexandria, *Abbaton*, p. 199)

In unrepentant rebellion, Satan has committed the unpardonable sin and cannot be redeemed. In the text, he is portrayed as having been stabbed and cut from shoulder to shoulder with a knife in ritual fashion. Other traditions mention a specific angel or cherub whose wing becomes the weapon by which Satan is smitten and rendered helpless (G. A. Anderson, *Ezekiel*, pp. 142-143).

652 Jolene Edmunds Rockwood explains: “God... pronounces what have traditionally been called the curse of Adam and the curse of Eve. The serpent, however, is the only

agent who is directly cursed and then, apparently, for usurping the role of deity and reversing the words of the deity” (J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, p. 20).

653 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 27.

654 U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 163.

655 *Moses* 4:27.

656 *Moses* 4:22.

657 *Moses* 4:25.

658 N. N. J. Dawood, *Koran*, 7:11-18, pp. 109-110; cf. 15:32-44; 17:61-63; 38:74-85. See also M. Herbert *et al.*, *Irish Apocrypha*, p. 11.

659 H. W. Nibley, *Gifts*, p. 92.

660 See S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:57, p. 65.

661 *Moses* 4:6.

662 A related theme also appears in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, where “the cat who split the *ished-tree* and released the god also beheads the god’s mortal enemy, the *Apophis* serpent, beneath the same *ished-tree*,” its paw resting heavily on the head of the serpent in accompanying illustrations (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 311-312).

663 The *Targum Yerushalmi* preserves a unique reading when it has God saying: “For them [i.e., the posterity of Adam and Eve]... there will be a remedy, but for you [i.e., the serpent] there will be no remedy; and they are to make peace in the end, in the days of the King Messiah” (M. Maher, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, 3:15, pp. 27-28); cf. *Targum Yerushalmi* (J. W. Etheridge, *Onkelos*).

664 *1 Corinthians* 15:25-26.

665 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 14 May 1843, p. 297. See also 17 May 1843, p. 301; 21 May 1843, p. 305.

666 L. E. Dahl *et al.*, *Lectures*, 7:9, p. 98. See also 7:16, p. 101. Note that authorship of the *Lectures* is uncertain.

667 = candidate for baptism.

668 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 183-184.

669 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

670 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

671 For additional discussion, see V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis* 1-17, pp. 197-200. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 96, 661ff..

672 H. W. Nibley, *Patriarchy*, pp. 89-90.

673 U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 165.

674 Moses 8:25. In another link with the story of Adam and Eve, note that in Noah's naming (Moses 8:9), "the hope is held out that he will in some way alleviate the pain of toiling the ground" (T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, p. 27).

675 Moses 5:11; 2 Nephi 2:23.

676 J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, p. 26. See Romans 8:22; cf. Matthew 24:8.

677 Moses 4:22.

678 J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, p. 58; cf. B. T. Arnold, *Genesis* 2009, pp. 70-71. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 266, 374.

679 M. Herbert *et al.*, *Irish Apocrypha*, p. 6.

680 V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis* 1-17, p. 202; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Patriarchy*; G. J. Wenham, *Genesis* 1-15, pp. 81-82. Contrast the implausible suggestion that "rule over" be translated "rule with" (V. M. Hudson *et al.*, *Response*, p. 332 n. 62; R. Benson, *Marriage.*, pp. 72-73). After having seriously considered this suggestion, RoseAnn Benson eventually abandons the effort to make the Hebrew text agree with the idea of a happy partnership between husband and wife in the fallen world, in the realization that every other occurrence the term is translated "rule over," the most frequent exemplar being the case of a king ruling over his subjects (*ibid.*, pp. 72-73). The key to understanding this verse is to see that the corresponding strengths of Adam and Eve—the latter having been endowed from the beginning with a "power equal to man" (R. D. Freedman, *Woman*; cf. D. R. Seely, *What does it mean*; J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, p. 16)—have now been turned away from their originally intended, mutually fortifying purpose. The tragic result is an equal match of opposing wills, each one contending for domination over the other.

The same Hebrew terms for "desire" and "rule" that describe the tendency for marriage relationships in a fallen world to deteriorate into a state of competition and rancor reappear in God's warning to Cain: "Satan desireth to have thee... And thou shalt rule over him" (Moses 5:23). The meaning is clear: Unless Cain is willing to make his escape from the bands of wickedness, he will be eternally locked together with Satan in the utterly destructive embrace of unrighteous dominion (see D&C 121:39, 2 Nephi 4:18, and Alma 5:7, 10). Additionally, Cassuto notes that the Hebrew term used for the verb in "bruise his heel" (Moses 4:21) comes from a stem that is cognate with "desire" as it is used in the same verse (U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 161), thus evoking the mortal danger Cain will court if he capitulates to Satan's craving to wound him, and also perhaps suggesting that he must act quickly to crush his opponent. This latter idea is consistent with Hamilton's translation of the final clause of Moses 5:23: "you, you are to master it!" (V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis* 1-17, p. 228).

681 L. A. McKinlay, *Patriarchal Order*.

682 Cited in E. England, *Church*, p. 4.

683 J. R. Holland, Souls.

684 S. W. Kimball, Teachings 1982, 26 February 1977, p. 315.

685 S. W. Kimball, Blessings, p. 72.

686 S. W. Kimball, Teachings 1982, May 1976, p. 315. The qualifier “in love and righteousness” is added to the word “preside” in the *The Family: A Proclamation to the World* (G. B. Hinckley *et al.*, The family: A proclamation to the world. Proclamation of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve presented at the General Relief Society Meeting, September 23, 1995).

687 B. C. Hafen, Covenant, pp. 175-176, 177.

688 H. W. Nibley, Patriarchy, p. 93.

689 M. C. Thomas, Women, pp. 54, 55, 56. Elder Bruce C. Hafen also discusses the importance of husbands and wives becoming interdependent, equal partners in marriage, as contrasted with the ideas of independence or dependence. See B. C. Hafen, Covenant, p. 174; B. C. Hafen *et al.*, Crossing, p. 26.

690 Moses 3:24. See additional discussion in J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, pp. 184-185.

691 N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 23. See also A. J. Heschel, Heavenly Torah, pp. 190-193.

692 E.g., Jeremiah 1:6. See V. P. Hamilton, Genesis 1-17, p. 181.

693 J. E. Rockwood, Eve's Role, pp. 59-60.

694 Genesis 2:24.

695 W. Shakespeare, Much Ado, 2:1:59, p. 338.

696 J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 22 January 1834, p. 60. Brigham Young is reported to have said that although “there was no law in heaven or on earth that would compel a woman to stay with a man either in time or eternity,” “all those evil traditions and afflictions or passions that haunt the mind in this life will all be done away in the resurrection. You will find then that any man who gets a glory and exaltation will be so beautiful that any woman will be willing to have him, if it was right... [A]ll those evils will vanish to which we are subject in this life” (W. Woodruff, Waiting, 2 June 1857, p. 194, spelling and punctuation modernized).

697 D&C 121:39.

698 E.g., G. B. Hinckley, Teachings 1997, November 1991 and 29 January 1984, pp. 1-2, 322-323, 326; G. B. Hinckley, Women of the Church, pp. 100-101; G. B. Hinckley, 4 October 1998, pp. 211-212; G. B. Hinckley, 6 April 2002, pp. 127-131; G. B. Hinckley, 3 October 2004, pp. 260-263.

699 J. E. Talmage, Eternity of Sex.

700 See J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, p. 253.

701 Moses 4:22-25; D&C 122:7.

702 E.g., Moses 4:27; 5:5-9; 6:64-65.

703 As retold by Katerina Servi, the Greek myth of Pandora runs as follows: “When Zeus discovered that Prometheus had stolen fire, he was extremely angry. In order to punish mankind, he told Hephaestus to make a woman out of earth and water. To this woman each of the gods gave a gift—some beauty, some skill, and so on—and for this reason the woman was called Pandora (‘All Gifts’). Hermes, however, on the orders of Zeus, put wickedness into the soul of Pandora and took her to Epimetheus[, the brother of Prometheus], supposedly as a gift from the gods. One day, Pandora, out of curiosity, opened a storage jar which the gods had entrusted to her, whereupon all the ills and disasters which torment mankind leapt out. Last, at the bottom of the jar, only Elpis—Hope—remained” (K. Servi, *Greek Mythology*, p. 23).

704 See, e.g., V. M. Adams, *Eve*; V. M. Adams, *Eve* (2010); B. Campbell, *Eve*; C. F. Olson, *Women*; A. L. Gaskill, *Savior and Serpent*; J. T. Summerhays, *Wisdom*; V. H. Cassler, *Two Trees*.

705 See, e.g., B. Young, December 1844, reported in *E. England, Laub*, p. 28. See also B. Young, 3 June 1855, p. 302.

706 T. G. Madsen, *LDS View*, pp. 99-100.

707 Rockwood succinctly explains the situation: “If we take the view that [Adam and Eve] were separated at the time of the temptation, implied in 1 Timothy 2:13-14, then we can say that the woman was presented with a set of deceptive and incomplete facts and concluded through her own perception what the results of her actions would be. Thus, she made a more difficult choice. She then presented the situation to the man in a clear and rational manner which enabled him to perceive his alternatives accurately and, hence, the course he should take... There is no tempting or coercing on the part of the woman and apparently no hesitation on the part of the man. They became mutually responsible for the transgression” (J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, p. 19).

708 E.g., Article of Faith 2; J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 9 February 1841, p. 63; D. H. Oaks, *Plan*, p. 73; R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 231.

709 Stephen T. Whitlock gives the personal opinion that what Adam and Eve did in the Garden of Eden “cannot be compared to our concepts of sin, transgression, repentance and forgiveness in the telestial world we live in. I believe the rules were different and there was great care to balance agency and life... Eve’s action was a choice made outside the boundaries of our earthly existence, prior to the initiation of the sin/repentance process. Our LDS ‘definition’ of and application of the word ‘transgression’ is an imprecise attempt to state this” (S. T. Whitlock, 8 February 2010).

710 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, Preface, p. 5. See J. E. Talmage, *Essential*, pp. 163-170; J. R. Talmage, *Talmage Story*, pp. 181-187.

711 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 29.

712 1 Timothy 2:14. Verse 15 says: “Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.” The Joseph Smith Translation changes “she” to “they,” highlighting the joint responsibility of husband and wife in their family responsibilities.

713 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 18.

714 From the author’s preface, 3 April 1899. See J. E. Talmage, *Essential*, pp. 44-62; J. R. Talmage, *Talmage Story*, pp. 154-159. Harvard S. Heath writes:

To this day, *Articles of Faith* is one of the few books the church recognizes as reflecting Mormon theology. It is interesting to note that this book, at the behest of the First Presidency, was published under the church’s name and not by the author as an individual. The book has undergone numerous editions and remains one of the definitive words on Mormon principles and practices. (cited in the Foreword to J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. vi).

715 J. E. Talmage, *Articles* (1984), p. 59.

716 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

717 Moses 4:11.

718 Moses 4:10.

719 A. L. Gaskill, *Savior and Serpent*, p. 79.

720 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

721 In my initial reading of Gaskill’s book, it was immediately apparent that he intended to emphasize the value of the account of the Fall as a metaphor for our own lives. However, it was only through his much-appreciated email replies to my questions as I prepared this chapter that it was made clear that he saw no part of the story in scripture or in the temple as applying to the “historical” Adam and Eve.

Gaskill’s arguments are sometimes very subtle. It was in my seeking to disentangle the “historical” and the “metaphorical” Eve in various passages he had written, that Gaskill wrote back to make it clear that none of his conclusions, apart from some of his statements made in the first chapter of the book, concerned the “historical” Eve. It should be understood that he has no issue with Adam and Eve existing as historical figures—he just doesn’t think the story in Genesis was designed to teach us about them.

One of the objections I made in my book of Moses commentary about Gaskill’s view of the Fall was based on a mistaken assumption that he was making a distinction

between the two Eves in the passage about Satan's efforts to beguile (J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, p. 595). This error was corrected in subsequent editions of the book.

722 Romans 5:14. The entire verse reads: "Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come." The thrust of Paul's argument here is to show that sin and its consequences were in the world long before the law of Moses was given, and one proof is that all mortals are subject to death because of the transgression of Adam. Even those who "had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression," never sinned in their own persons as Adam did—which is to be understood of infants, that were never guilty of actual sin, and yet died" because they experienced the effects of the Fall (M. Henry, *Commentary, Romans 5:6-21*, p. 2205). For Paul, "Adam is a type, a prefiguring or foreshadowing of Christ as the head of humanity. As the first man, Adam caused death to reign in the human race. As the new and perfect Man, Christ brings eternal life to humanity" (J. N. Sparks *et al.*, *Orthodox Study Bible, Romans 5:14n.*, p. 1530).

To single out those who had "*not* sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression," however, is to imply that others *had* done so. Spiritual death has continued to reign "because man overwhelmingly continued to sin in rebellion against God" (*ibid.*, *Romans 5:14n.*, p. 1530). In this sense, as *2 Baruch* concludes, "Adam is... not the cause [of unrighteousness], except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam" (A. F. J. Klijn, *2 Baruch*, 54:19, p. 640).

The degree to which the premortal, mortal, and postmortal phases of the story of Adam and Eve parallel the experience of every one of God's children raises the question about whether, before taking upon themselves mortality, there would have been an opportunity for these spirits to have disobeyed God's commandment "after the similitude of Adam's transgression"—in effect experiencing a kind of personal "fall." Though the rebellion of Satan and his hosts clearly demonstrates that sin was possible in the premortal life, it is a matter of conjecture whether sin and repentance were part of the general experience of all who lived in the spirit world.

The only scripture that seems to bear directly on this question is D&C 93:38, which reads: "Every spirit of man was innocent in the beginning; and God, having redeemed man from the fall, men become again, in their infant state, innocent before God." Brent Top interprets the verse as follows: "The key word is 'again.' This seems to indicate that men had lost innocence in the premortal world through sin and disobedience, but were once again, through the great plan of Redemption, made innocent before God upon entering mortality 'in their infant state'" (B. L. Top, *Life Before*, p. 95; cf. *Moses 6:53*). Another possibility is that the comma between "again" and "in" was inserted erroneously. Without this comma, the scripture would simply imply that the Redemption of Christ (accomplished through the ordinances) brings men again to an infant state, in other words, innocent before God.

Regarding the question of sin in premortal life, Elder Orson Pratt offered his opinion that:

... among the two-third [of God's spirit children] who remained [after Satan's rebellion], it is highly probably that, there were many who were not valiant..., but whose sins were of such a nature that they could be forgiven through faith in the future sufferings of the Only Begotten of the Father, and through their sincere repentance and reformation. We see no impropriety in Jesus offering Himself as an acceptable offering and sacrifice before the Father to atone for the sins of His brethren, committed not only in the second, but also in the first estate (O. Pratt, *The Seer*, 1:4, p. 54, punctuation standardized, cited in A. C. Skinner, *Temple Worship*, pp. 51-52).

723 J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, Preface, pp. x, xii; J. R. Talmage, *Talmage Story*, p. 172. The description of Elder Talmage is still reused frequently in Church publications today.

724 J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. 54.

725 A. L. Gaskill, *Savior and Serpent*, p. 79. Gaskill cites the literal rendering of Hebrew into English given in a footnote of the LDS edition of the Bible at Genesis 3:4a ("Dying, ye shall not die"), a Gnostic account ("With death you shall not die," from *The Reality of the Rulers*, 90:4-5, as cited in E. Pagels, *Adam*, p. 67), and Irenaeus ("Ye shall not die by death," from Irenaeus, *Heresies*, 5:23:1, p. 551), among others, to support the phrasing of his translation. However, while it is true that the literal wording of each of these sources parallels the Hebrew of Genesis, the crucial point is that none of them support the meaning that Gaskill attempts to read into the phrase. In Hebrew, the kind of repetition that occurs within these phrases always signals intensification.

726 See, e.g., B. L. Bandstra, *Genesis 1-11*, pp. 174-175; U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, pp. 143-144.

727 B. Young, 11 August 1872, p. 126. After paraphrasing Satan's words to Eve in Moses 4:10-11, Brigham Young says that "he worked upon the tender heart of mother Eve until she partook of the fruit, and her eyes were opened. He told the truth. And they [i.e., the wicked] say now, 'Do this that your eyes may be opened, that you may see; do this that you may know thus and so.'" The burden of President Young's remarks was to show how the Evil One and his followers have persecuted the Saints from the beginning.

728 Brigham Young, December 1844, reported in E. England, *Laub*, p. 28. In an 1862 discourse, he also said: "Adam and Eve did not sin because it was in their nature to love sin, but, as Paul says in his Epistle to Timothy, 'Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. Notwithstanding, she shall be saved in child bearing, if they continue in faith, and charity, and holiness, with sobriety'" (1

Timothy 2:14-15). The enemy of all righteousness deceived the woman, and Adam went with her that man might be, and that she might be saved in child-bearing” (B. Young, 15 June 1862, p. 305).

729 A. L. Gaskill, *Savior and Serpent*, p. 79. See H. L. Andrus, *Doctrinal* (Rev.), p. 158; H. L. Andrus, *Doctrinal*, pp. 187-188. Gaskill quotes Andrus as follows: “True to form, Satan had taken a truth, and applied it in such a way as to achieve his unrighteous purposes,” implying in that context that Andrus supported the view that the Devil did not beguile Eve. Taking the wider context of Andrus’ writings into account (see the next footnote), it seems apparent to me that when Andrus speaks of “a truth,” he is not talking about Satan’s entire statement to Eve, but merely the part about the how it would open Eve’s eyes. This part-truth, in conjunction with the lie about how she would “not surely die,” and being “applied” to the forbidden fruit is in my reading what Andrus takes to be deceptive. Thus, I conclude that the single sentence quoted by Gaskill that mentions Satan’s having “taken a truth” but fails to include any allusion to Andrus’ views on Satan’s deception, has been used out of context.

730 For example, Andrus writes of Lucifer’s purpose to “deceive and blind men” (H. L. Andrus, *Doctrinal*, p. 185; see Moses 4:4) and contrasts Eve with Adam in saying that with the latter “there was no deception” (*ibid.*, p. 187; also citing 1 Timothy 2:14). In the second edition of his book, Andrus explicitly asserts that Satan used “a big lie and... a half-truth... to achieve his purpose” (H. L. Andrus, *Doctrinal* (Rev.), p. 156-157).

731 2 Nephi 2:18; Ether 8:25. See also 2 Nephi 9:9: “the father of lies.”

732 J. T. Summerhays, *Wisdom*.

733 V. M. Adams, *Eve*; V. M. Adams, *Eve* (2010); B. Campbell, *Eve*, pp. 71-73; B. Campbell, *Eve*.

734 Moses 4:6.

735 In 2 Corinthians 11:3, Paul speaks of how “the serpent beguiled Eve through his craftiness.” The following is a sampling of LDS sources that conclude that Eve was deceived: B. Young, 15 June 1862, p. 305; O. Pratt, 18 July 1880, p. 288; G. Q. Cannon, *Truth*, 1:24; B. H. Roberts, *The Truth*, p. 350; J. B. Wirthlin, *Without Guile*, p. 80; B. R. McConkie, *Eve*, p. 63; J. F. McConkie *et al.*, *Revelations*, p. 221; B. R. McConkie, *New Witness*, p. 86; S. E. Robinson, *Book of Adam*, p. 133; J. E. Talmage, *Articles* (1984), pp. 59, 63; O. Pratt, 18 July 1880, pp. 288-289; O. F. Whitney, *Thoughts*, 12, pp. 284-285. This same view is not uncommonly held by non-LDS exegetes (e.g., V. P. Hamilton, *Genesis 1-17*, pp. 182-184). Thanks to Matthew B. Brown for assistance in locating references.

736 N. Aschkenasy, *Woman*, p. 127. Compare B. Campbell, *Eve*, p. 71.

737 N. Aschkenasy, *Woman*, p. 128.

738 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 255-256.

739 The Hebrew word translated “beguile” in Genesis 3:13 (*nasha*) appears thirteen times in relevant contexts in the Old Testament—in all other instances it is translated “deceive” (Genesis 3:13; 2 Kings 18:9, 19:10; Isaiah 19:13, 36:14, 37:10; Jeremiah 4:10, 29:8, 38:9, 49:16; Obadiah 1:3, 7; 2 Chronicles 32:15). In an additional instance it is translated “seize” (Psalm 55:15), and in a handful of occurrences the term is used in connection with being a debtor or a creditor.

As an interesting footnote on the verb, John Tvedtnes writes: “I have always been intrigued by the Hebrew verb Eve used when telling the Lord that ‘the serpent beguiled me’ (Genesis 3:13). It is *hishi’ani*, ‘he beguiled me.’ The root is *n-SH-*’ and it is in the *hif’il* form (the *n* has assimilated to the *shin*, so the *shin* is geminated and hence has a *dagesh*). [Of course], the *shin* and *sin* are written alike. In pointed script, they are distinguished by a dot over the right side for *shin* and over the left side for *sin*. Switch them this way and read it *hisi’ani* and it means ‘he advised/counseled me.’ I’m not saying that is the way one must read it, but it is interesting” (J. A. Tvedtnes, March 8 2010).

740 2 Nephi 2:15–16. Note that the use of the term “beguile” would have been impossible here, since phrasing of the verse required the same word to be used for good and evil desire.

741 2 Nephi 9:39 (“the enticings of that cunning one”); Helaman 7:16 (“the enticing of him who is seeking to hurl away your souls”); Moroni 7:12 (“the devil... inviteth and enticeth to sin”). The sole exception is Helaman 6:26 (“that same being who did entice our first parents”).

742 2 Nephi 9:9 (“the father of lies... who beguiled our first parents”); Ether 8:25 (“the father of all lies; even that same liar who beguiled our first parents”). Additional references to the incident are 2 Nephi 2:18 (“the father of all lies, wherefore he said: Partake of the forbidden fruit, and ye shall not die”); Mosiah 16:3 (“that old serpent that did beguile our first parents, which was the cause of their fall”); and D&C 29:41 (“the devil tempted Adam, and he partook of the forbidden fruit and transgressed the commandment”).

743 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 25; cf. J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, pp. 26-27.

744 Apparently agreeing with the view expressed by Summerhays, Camille Fronk Olson takes the phrase to imply that “Eve evolved in her realization that the tree was good. By placing the Tree of Knowledge in the center of the Garden with the warning [that was given], God created an environment in which Adam and Eve were free to discover the only way they and their posterity could access the power of Christ’s Atonement and thereby reach their divine potential... Exercising her budding agency, [Eve] acted, ‘[seeing] that the tree was good’” (C. F. Olson, *Women*, p. 13).

745 J. E. Talmage, *Articles* (1984), p. 59.

746 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 18.

747 J. E. Talmage, *Articles* (1984), p. 59.

748 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 257-258.

749 See, e.g., J. R. Holland, *Christ*, pp. 202-205; J. A. Widtsoe, *Evidences*, pp. 193-194; B. H. Roberts, *The Truth*, p. 343, see also pp. lxii-lxiv; E. W. Tullidge, *Women*, pp. 198-199. While each of these sources imply that Eve had some insight into the ultimately positive consequences of her choice, none of them directly take issue with the idea that Eve was also, to a greater or lesser degree, “beguiled” or “deceived.”

750 See, e.g., D. H. Oaks, *Plan*, p. 73. Note that the ellipsis in the excerpt of Elder Oaks’ talk included in C. F. Olson, *Women*, p. 12 might give the erroneous impression to a reader that Elder Oaks was affirming Eve’s understanding of the necessity of the Fall *prior to* rather than *after* the transgression in Eden. In doing research for this chapter, I have encountered other instances where the textual ambiguity or failure to provide appropriate context may similarly mislead. Olson rightfully warns of the widespread, and too often deliberate, tactic of “taking out of context something a believer has said [and] looking at the selected phrase from a different perspective than the speaker intended” (*ibid.*, pp. 11, 13).

751 Moses 4:6.

752 Christopher Miasnik observes that “even if Eve had made a fully informed decision to eat, she would have still done the right thing in doing so. And, in that case, she would have admitted so when questioned by someone she knew loved and trusted her. But she didn’t admit that because that wasn’t the case. This is what she said: ‘The serpent beguiled me.’ I take her at her word” (C. Miasnik, 8 February 2010).

753 H. W. Nibley, *Patriarchy*, p. 88.

754 J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, pp. 19, 20. See also J. E. Rockwood, *Eve's Role*, p. 55.

755 Moses 4:16. In the original, Rockwood cites the Genesis version of this verse.

756 Moses 4:19.

757 H. W. Nibley, *Patriarchy*, pp. 88-89.

758 J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, p. 22.

759 Rockwood is here asserting that the plant, animal, and human orders of Creation each participated in the Fall: the Tree of Knowledge through its fruit, the animal kingdom through the serpent, and humans through Adam and Eve.

760 Moses 5:10-11. Note that Eve improves upon Adam’s psalm, using “we” rather than “I” throughout.

761 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 119; cf. T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 76-78. See a Muslim parallel in R. Milstein *et al.*, *Stories*, B&W plate 2. The idea of Adam as Priest and King is consistent with the Prophet Joseph Smith's teachings that Adam received the First Presidency and its keys (i.e., the keys necessary to direct the Kingdom of God on the earth) "before the world was formed" (J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, before 8 August 1839, p. 8). Similarly, the *Book of the Cave of Treasures* records that immediately following his creation, "Adam was arrayed in the apparel of sovereignty, and there was the crown of glory set upon his head, there was he made king, and priest, and prophet, there did God make him to sit upon his honorable throne, and there did God give him dominion over all creatures and things" (E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*, p. 53).

As a prelude to his investiture, a medieval Ethiopian Christian text portrays Adam in the Garden of Eden being commanded by God to enact a series of covenantal gestures in order to "become associated with the *Surafel* (i.e., the Seraphim) in the mysteries." Afterward, God arrayed him in gloriously clothing from head to foot (B. Mika'el, *Book*, pp. 21-22; cf. M. i. A. A. al-Kisa'i, *Tales*, pp. 28-29). In this sense, Adam and Eve, "though naked, [were] still clothed" (Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, *Hymns on Faith* (The Pearl), 133:2, p. 71).

762 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 127. Thus, in a sense, Adam and Eve could be seen as having received two "garments of skin": the first when they were clothed with mortal flesh, and the second when they were clothed by God in coats of animal skin. Confusion in many commentaries may have resulted from the conflation of these two events. Moreover, rabbinical wordplay equated the coats of skin (*cor*) with garments of light ('*ur*) (J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1), which, notes Nibley, has also led to "a great deal of controversy" (H. W. Nibley, *Vestments*, p. 124). See also S. D. Ricks, *Garment*, pp. 706-708; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Clothing*, pp. 651-654.

763 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 122.

764 Exodus 28.

765 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 123.

766 Brock in Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, pp. 66-67.

767 R. A. Bullard *et al.*, *Archons*, 89:3-7, p. 164; G. W. MacRae *et al.*, *Adam* 1990, 64:24-29, 65:10-13, p. 279; C. Schmidt, *Pistis*, 4:144, pp. 749-753; G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis*, 6, 144, 380, p. 315.

768 W. Wordsworth in L. Richards, *Marvelous*, p. 290.

769 Moses 3:25; cf. D&C 121:45.

770 2 Nephi 9:14; cf. Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis*, 15:14, cited in A. Louth *et al.*, *Genesis* 1-11, p. 72.

771 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 215.

-
- 772 M. i. A. A. al-Kisa'i, *Tales*, p. 61.
- 773 M. E. Stone, *Adamgirk*, 3:1:7, p. 48.
- 774 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 489. See also E. Hennecke *et al.*, *Acts of Thomas*, 108.9-15, pp. 498-499; B. T. Ostler, *Clothed*, p. 4.
- 775 L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:79.
- 776 *Ibid.*, 1:96; cf. Timothy of Alexandria, *Abbaton*, p. 200.
- 777 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 127; cf. G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, Georgian version, 34(8):2, p. 38.
- 778 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 127.
- 779 H. Schwartz, *Tree*, 200, p. 166.
- 780 *Hymns* (1985), *Hymns* (1985), #175.
- 781 G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, Latin 34:2, p. 38E.
- 782 Cf. F. I. Andersen, 2 *Enoch*, 30:8-9, p. 150.
- 783 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 178; cf. H. C. Kee, *Testaments*, 2:1-9, p. 782.
- 784 H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, p. 60. See S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:23, 69, pp. 23, 83-84; cf. J. Cooper *et al.*, *Testament*, 1:23, pp. 73, 75; M. E. Stone, *Legend*, p. 160.
- 785 S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:46, p. 50. See also 1:59, p. 66.
- 786 H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 19, p. 253.
- 787 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 178, pp. 173-174.
- 788 *Mosiah* 3:19, 21; cf. *Moses* 5:5-8.
- 789 *Moses* 6:53.
- 790 *Romans* 5:12-21; 1 *Corinthians* 15:20-22, 45-50.
- 791 *D&C* 84:33.
- 792 M. Barker, *Atonement*. See T. G. Madsen, *Sacrament*, p. 13.
- 793 H. W. Nibley, *Evangelium*, p. 38 n. 78.
- 794 H. W. Nibley, *Vestments*, p. 124.
- 795 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 425.
- 796 C. E. Asay, *Garment*, p. 37; E. T. Marshall, *Garments*; H. W. Nibley, *Vestments*, p. 124. It seems that once Adam and Eve had completed their earth life, the garment of skins was no longer needed (*JS-H* 1:31). See also Ephrem the Syrian, *Diatessaron*, cited in M. Barker, *Hidden*, p. 34, and M. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, GL 2:19, p. 488; H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, p. 299.
- 797 *Mosiah* 3:19, 2 *Corinthians* 5:17.

798 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 130. See also M. Barker, *Gate*, pp. 113-114; B. T. Ostler, *Clothed*, p. 3; S. D. Ricks, *Garment*, p. 709; M. von Wellnitz, *Liturgy*, pp. 11-12, Romans 6:3-4, 1 Corinthians 15:53.

799 See Exodus 39:27-28.

800 R. Eisler, *Ièsous Basileus ou Basileusas*, 2:34, cited in H. W. Nibley, *H. W. Nibley, Dominion*, p. 18.

801 M. B. Brown, *Gate*, pp. 81-82.

802 See Revelation 3:4-5; 15:6; 19:8.

803 Philo, *Specialibus* 1, 84, p. 542.

804 See 1 Corinthians 15:52-54.

805 In this connection, Elder Joseph Fielding Smith wrote that temples are “places for sanctification” (“The Los Angeles Temple,” *Improvement Era*, November 1951, p. 798, cited in T. G. Madsen, *Purposes*, p. 93).

806 Moses 5:11.

807 Psalm 104:1-2.

808 1 John 3:1-3.

809 H. Schwartz, *Tree*, 200, p. 166. See also E. Hennecke *et al.*, *Acts of Thomas*, 111-112.72-80, p. 502; H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 496; B. T. Ostler, *Clothed*, pp. 4-5.

810 2 Nephi 9:14; cf. Revelation 3:4-5, 4:4, 6:11, 7:9, 13-15, 2 *Esdras* 2:45.

811 G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, 1 *Enoch*, 62:15-16, p. 81.

812 Rule of the Community 4:22-23 in F. G. Martinez, *DSS Translated*, p. 7; H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, p. 467.

813 See J. A. Tvedtnes, *Clothing*, pp. 662-695.

814 H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, pp. 489-490, citing Hoffman; cf. M. von Wellnitz, *Liturgy*, pp. 17, 19-20, Abraham 3:26: “added upon.”

815 Exodus 20:26.

816 Origen, *Leviticus 1-16*, 6:7, cited in G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, pp. 122, 124. See 2 Corinthians 5:4.

817 *Ibid.*, pp. 122, 124.

818 While the first name given to Eve [*ishah* = woman, see Moses 3:23] was provisional, the eating of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge had increased the understanding of the couple and had also enabled the possibility of childbirth. Later, in Moses 4:26, Adam could at last bestow a fitting personal name on Eve, one “that expresses her nature and destiny positively and sympathetically” (N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 29). “Her first name pointed to her origin (‘out of man’), whereas her

second name pointed to her destiny ('the mother of all living')" (J. H. Sailhamer, Genesis, p. 57).

819 J. E. Rockwood, *Redemption of Eve*, pp. 17, 21.

820 Genesis 4:17, 25.

821 See Genesis 17:5, 32:28. Compare Mandaean practices where, shortly after birth, the newborn child is given four names, one of which is "the most secret and important one" that is "used always (and almost exclusively) in religious rituals (E. Lupieri, *Mandaeans*, p. 17; cf. E. S. Drower, *Haran*, p. 32). Moreover, those who participate in the Islamic *hajj* are washed, dressed in white, and given a "new name," one that they must not reveal—for it is theirs to use in the next life when they approach Allāh... Muslims are urged to return to Mecca again..., but these pilgrimages are for or in behalf of other people, preferably relatives, who did not have the chance to go. Apparently, they may get the 'new name' for them as well" (D. Rona, *Revealed*, p. 190).

822 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 1:23, p. 335.

823 E. R. Goodenough, *Light*, pp. 292-293.

824 "Melchizedek" is written as two words in Genesis 14, Psalm 110, the *Samaritan Pentateuch* (S. Lowy, *Principles*, p. 320), the *Targums* (J. W. Etheridge, *Onkelos*, 14), and *11QMelchizedek* (F. G. Martinez, *Melchizedek*, 2:9, p. 140).

825 M. Barker, *Who was Melchizedek*. D&C 107:4 tells us that in ancient times the name of Melchizedek was substituted for the name of God, "out of respect or reverence to the name of the Supreme Being, to avoid the too frequent repetition of his name." In light of this concept, it is not surprising to read a report of Wayne Meeks that, who reports that in the Samaritan literature, "the name with which Moses was 'crowned' or 'clothed' is always Elohim" (W. A. Meeks, *Moses*, p. 359). Meeks reports that the name of Elohim, conferred on Moses, was "distinguished from YHWH, 'the name which god revealed to him.' Furthermore the tradition is univocal that it was 'on the top of Mount Horeb' that Moses was thus named" (*ibid.*, p. 360).

826 al-Tabari, *Creation*, p. 48; cf. the question and response passages in Egyptian temple ritual (H. W. Nibley, *Message 2005*, pp. 449-452).

827 D&C 93:12.

828 Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 6:9, p. 112.

829 See, e.g., M. Odell, *Ezekiel*, pp. 357-360.

830 *Ibid.*, pp. 361-363.

831 *Ibid.*, p. 363.

832 Calabro convincingly describes the imagery of a sealed contract or covenant associated with both cylinder seals and signet rings in northwest Semitic languages (D. Calabro, *Rolling Out*, especially pp. 68-72).

833 Note that the king sits “in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas,” the latter reference recalling the imagery of Eden as the source of the waters of the earth (Genesis 2:10).

834 Ezekiel 28:14. The “stones of fire” may be an allusion to the coals on the altar of the temple (P. M. Joyce, *Ezekiel*, p. 180).

835 Some readers object to the idea of Eden being located on a cosmic mountain, since this aspect is not mentioned explicitly in Genesis 2–3. See G. A. Anderson, *Cosmic Mountain*, 192-199 for careful readings that argue for just such a setting.

836 *Ibid.*, 199.

837 Ezekiel 28:16, Hebrew *wa’abbedka*. The longer phrase containing this verb can be read one of two ways: 1. “The guardian cherub drove you out” (P. M. Joyce, *Ezekiel*, p. 180; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, p. 86, highlighting the parallel with Adam; cf. Genesis 3:24); or 2. “I drove you out, the guardian cherub” (P. M. Joyce, *Ezekiel*, p. 180; cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, p. 94, identifying the king as the cherub). The use of the verb *hillēl* (to profane) in the description of banishment in the first verb of the verse (*wā’ehallelēkā*, “I banished you”) alludes to the desecration of the holy place through the actions of the king (D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, p. 116).

838 Ezekiel 28:18.

839 Ezekiel 28:17.

840 D. I. Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, p. 117. Cf. *Lamentations* 2:1; *Ezekiel* 19:12.

841 Ezekiel 26:19-20 also uses *eres* in reference to the netherworld, perhaps in this context as a variant of *ṣaḥat*, “pit,” in verse 8 (*ibid.*, p. 117).

842 Scholars have long puzzled over the significance of the double reference to Adam and Eve’s expulsion in vv. 29 and 31. A change from the Genesis and OT1 “sent” to “will send” in OT2 was made in the handwriting of Sidney Rigdon (S. H. Faulring *et al.*, *Original Manuscripts*, p. 602; K. P. Jackson, *Book of Moses*, p. 85). This change allows the description of the “first” expulsion of Adam and Eve to be seen simply as an anticipatory statement of the Lord’s intention, corresponding to the actual event later described in v. 31. By way of contrast, some ancient traditions see the couple’s exit from the Garden of Eden as having occurred in two stages. For example, the *Qur’an* explicitly records that Adam and Eve were twice told to go down (*Qur’an*, 2:36, 38), explaining that they “were removed first from the Garden to its courtyard and then from the courtyard to the earth” (A. a.-S. M. H. at-Tabataba’i, *Al-Mizan*, 1:209). An idea consistent with Ephrem the Syrian’s idea of the Fall as an attempted intrusion in the holiest regions of the Garden is that Adam and Eve were first

removed from the border of the celestial region to the terrestrial paradise, and then, in the second stage, were expelled from the terrestrial paradise to the telestial earth (Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 3:5, p. 92, 3:13-15, pp. 95-96).

843 Exodus 6:1. See N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 30.

844 See D&C 45:32.

845 D&C 45:32.

846 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 21. For more on this theme, see J. M. Bradshaw, *Standing in the Holy Place*.

847 Zornberg's translation of Rashi, *Genesis* 2:7, in A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 16. Compare Rashi, *Genesis Commentary*, 2:7, p. 23; J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 14:8:1, p. 156.

848 Zornberg's translation of Rashi, *Genesis* 2:7, in A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 16. Compare Rashi, *Genesis Commentary*, 2:7, p. 23.

849 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 16.

850 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

851 M.-A. Ouaknin *et al.*, *Rabbi Éliézer*, 11, p. 78.

852 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 23.

853 Zornberg's translation. Compare H. Freedman *et al.*, *Midrash*, Numbers 1, 11:3, 5:419.

854 "His height?—For it says, *And the man and his wife hid themselves* (*Genesis* 3:8). R. Aibu said: His height was cut down and reduced to one hundred cubits" (*ibid.*, *Genesis* 1, 12:6, p. 91; cf. J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 19:8:3, p. 208).

855 Zornberg's translation. Compare J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 1, 21:7:3, p. 235. The JPS translation of *Leviticus* 19:23 reads: "When you enter the land and plant any tree for food, you shall regard its fruit as forbidden. Three years it shall be forbidden for you, not to be eaten." Levine comments on the literal translation as follows: "'You shall trim its fruit in the manner of a foreskin.' The syntax is unusual. Literally, this clause would read: 'You shall trim its foreskin as foreskin' (*va-'araltem 'et 'orlato*)... Later on in the passage we find the masculine plural noun *'arelim*, 'in a state of uncircumcision'" (B. A. Levine, *Leviticus*, *Leviticus* 19:23n., pp. 131-132).

856 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 23.

857 M. E. Stone, *Adamgirk*, 1:3:71, p. 101. Note, however, that this promise actually would reach its complete fulfillment through taking of the Tree of Life, not merely of the Tree of Knowledge as deceptively asserted here by Satan.

858 *Ibid.*, 1:3:27, p. 96.

859 J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 11 April 1842, 5:135.

860 See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 471-473, 681-686.

861 Ezekiel 37:10. Cf. 2 Kings 13:21.

Alma the Younger experienced a fall and a figurative death when he and his companions were visited by an angel, and a rebirth three days later when his mouth was opened and he was again able to stand on his feet: "I fell to the earth; and it was for the space of three days and three nights that I could not open my mouth, neither had I the use of my limbs... But behold my limbs did receive their strength again, and I stood upon my feet, and did manifest unto the people that I had been born of God" (Alma 36:10, 23; cf. King Lamoni and his people in Alma 18:42-43, 19:1-34).

Falling in weakness after a vision of God is a common motif in scripture. Daniel reported that he "fainted, and was sick certain days," and of a second occasion he wrote: "I was left alone... and there remained no strength in me... and when I heard the voice of his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground" (Daniel 8:26; 10:8-9). Saul "fell to the earth" during his vision and remained blind until healed by Ananias (Acts 9:4, 17-18). Lehi "cast himself on his bed, being overcome with the Spirit" (1 Nephi 1:7). Of his weakness following the First Vision, Joseph Smith wrote: "When I came to myself again, I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven. When the light had departed, I had no strength..." (JS-H 1:20). See also discussion of A. Kulik, *Retroverting Apocalypse of Abraham* 10:1-4, p. 17 below.

862 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, p. 683 figure 53-11.

863 *Ibid.*, p. 228 figure 4-10.

864 G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 1 Enoch 14:24, p. 267: "And one of the holy ones came to me and raised me up and stood me [on my feet]"; G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, 1 Enoch, 71:3, p. 93: "And the angel Michael... took me by my right hand and raised me up"; P. Alexander, 3 Enoch, 1:5, p. 256: "He grasped me with his hand before their eyes and said to me, 'Come in peace into the presence of the high and exalted King'; *ibid.*, 48A:2, p. 300: "I went with him, and, taking me by his hand, he bore me up on his wings."

865 J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, p. 684 figure 53-13.

866 Daniel 8:18: "he touched me, and set me upright"; Daniel 10:9-10: "then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground. And, behold, an hand touched me, which set me upon my knees."

867 Revelation 1:17: "I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me."

868 In Alma 19:29-30, the raising of two individuals who have fallen in rapturous vision is performed by mortal women.

869 Ezekiel 2:1-2: "And he said unto me, Son of man, stand upon thy feet, and I will speak unto thee. And the spirit entered into me when he spake unto me, and set me upon my feet, that I heard him that spake unto me."

870 Daniel 10:11: "O Daniel, ... understand the words that I speak unto thee, and stand upright: for unto thee am I now sent."

871 Acts 26:16: "But rise, and stand upon thy feet: for I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness."

872 Alma 36:7-8. 22: "7 And behold, he spake unto us, as it were the voice of thunder, and the whole earth did tremble beneath our feet; and we all fell to the earth, for the fear of the Lord came upon us. 8 But behold, the voice said unto me: Arise. And I arose and stood up, and beheld the angel."

873 3 Nephi 11:19-20: "And Nephi arose and went forth, and bowed himself before the Lord and did kiss his feet. And the Lord commanded him that he should arise. And he arose and stood before him."

874 Nickelsburg explains (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 14:24-15:1, p. 270):

The seer must be rehabilitated and accepted into the divine presence before he can receive his commission. Restoration by an angel becomes a typical feature in visions, where, however, it is the angel whose appearance causes the collapse.

See also Joshua 7:6, 10-13:

6 ¶ And Joshua rent his clothes, and fell to the earth upon his face before the ark of the Lord until the eventide, he and the elders of Israel, and put dust upon their heads 10 ¶ And the Lord said unto Joshua, Get thee up; wherefore liest thou thus upon thy face? 11 Israel hath sinned, and they have also transgressed my covenant which I commanded them: for they have even taken of the accursed thing, and have also stolen, and dissembled also, and they have put it even among their own stuff. 12 Therefore the children of Israel could not stand before their enemies, but turned their backs before their enemies, because they were accursed: neither will I be with you any more, except ye destroy the accursed from among you. 13 Up, sanctify the people, and say, Sanctify yourselves against to morrow: for thus saith the Lord God of Israel, There is an accursed thing in the midst of thee, O Israel: thou canst not stand before thine enemies, until ye take away the accursed thing from among you.

875 E.g., Deuteronomy 10:8, 18:7; 2 Chronicles 29:11.

876 E.g., Luke 1:19.

877 See, e.g., Luke 18:13.

878 Notes taken by David J. Larsen on a unpublished talk by Robert Hayward (R. Hayward, Aramaic Paradise).

879 E.g., 1 Esdras 8:89-90.

880 A. G. Zornberg, Genesis, p. 21.

881 “For these are those selected by God for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong the glory of Adam.” (Rule of the Community 4:22-23 in F. G. Martinez, DSS Translated, p. 7; H. W. Nibley, Message 2005, p. 467).

882 D&C 121:45.

883 Following Zornberg’s literal translation—others read in terms of Adam’s capacity to “exist” or “survive” (see, e.g., J. T. Townsend, Tanhuma, 10 (Mas’e):8, Numbers 35:9ff, Part 1, 3:264; A. Davis *et al.*, The Metsudah Midrash Tanchuma, Bamidbar 2, Masei, 11, p. 354; cf. H. Freedman *et al.*, Midrash, Numbers 23:13, 6:877). Zornberg explains: “The simplest reading of ‘standing’ would be ‘survival.’ But, implicitly, both Adam and the world are in need of some Archimedian point of stability, in a situation in which disintegration threatens” (A. G. Zornberg, Genesis, p. 25).

By way of contrast, consider Cain’s protest: “Since I am to be a restless wanderer, I cannot *stand in one place*—that is what banishment from the soil means—I have no place of rest. ‘And I must avoid Your presence’—for I cannot stand before You to pray” (ibid., p. 21).

884 J. M. Bradshaw, God’s Image 1, pp. 338-350.

885 In the case of the rabbis, this was understood to be the five books of Moses, the *Torah*. Concerning the sixth day of Creation, Rashi commented: “*The sixth day*”: the definite article [*heh*] is added here to teach that God had made a condition with all the works of the beginning, depending on Israel’s acceptance of the Five [the numerical value of *heh*] Books of the *Torah*. (Zornberg’s translation in A. G. Zornberg, Genesis, p. 27). Compare Rashi, Genesis Commentary, 1:31, p. 19.

The idea of five sacred things is encountered in other forms Jewish tradition. For example, Jewish authorities held that five things were lost when Solomon’s temple was destroyed. Both Margaret Barker and Hugh Nibley specifically connect these “five things” to lost ordinances of the High Priesthood (see J. M. Bradshaw, God’s Image 1, pp. 658-660).

886 Zornberg’s translation in A. G. Zornberg, Genesis, p. 27. Compare Rashi, Genesis Commentary 1:31, p. 19.

887 E.g., Ephesians 1:4; Revelation 13:8, Mosiah 4:7; 15:19; Alma 12:25, 30; 13:3, 5, 7; 18:39; 22:13; 42:26; D&C 35:18; 124:41; 128:5, 8, 18; 132:5, 63; Moses 5:57; 6:30.

888 The Prophet Joseph Smith, who explained: “Everlasting covenant was made between three personages before the organization of this earth, and relates to their dispensation of things to men on the earth; these personages, according to Abraham’s record, are called God the first, the Creator, God the second, the Redeemer, and God the third, the witness or Testator” (J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 16 May 1841, p. 190).

889 Proverbs 8:27-29, following the translation of M. Barker, Temple Theology, p. 39; cf. Job 26:10.

890 J. Smith, Jr., Documentary History, 27 November 1832, 1:299.

891 E.g., D&C 88:34-38, 42-45; 121:30-32; 132:5, 11.

892 J. Smith, Jr., Words, 9 October 1843, p. 253; J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 20 March 1842, pp. 197-198.

893 J. Milton, Paradise Lost, 7:224-228, p. 145; compare Blake's *Urizen* (1794), where he: "... formed golden compasses / And began to explore the Abyss" (W. Blake, Illuminated Blake, 7:8, p. 428); Chesterton called the figure "a monstrously muscular old man, with hair and beard like a snowstorm, but with limbs like young trees" (G. K. Chesterton, William Blake, p. 55).

Although the tools of an architect are frequently used in medieval depictions of the Creation to portray the geometry of the heavens, seas, and earth, Blake also may have been attracted to this symbol because of his acquaintance with Freemasonry while he was an apprentice engraver (P. Ackroyd, Blake, p. 377). An associate of Blake said that the artist saw the vision of this image hovering "at the top of his staircase; and he [was] frequently... heard to say, that it made a more powerful impression upon his mind than all he had ever been visited by" (ibid., p. 378). He worked and reworked this image continually, reportedly returning to it for a final effort in the last hours before his death.

894 See Isaiah 34:11 and Jeremiah 4:23-27.

895 A. G. Zornberg, Genesis, p. 27. The reference is from B. Shabbat 88a, cited in ibid., p. 385 n. 68. In *Pesikta Rabbati* we read:

R. Huna said in the name of R. Aha (Aba?): *The earth and all the inhabitants thereof were about to be dissolved; but then because of the I*, (the "I" which begins the Ten Commandments and hence stands for Israel's acceptance of God and the Torah, it stood firm], as the verse concludes, *I caused the pillars of it to stand firm* (Psalm 75:4). Long ago the world might have dissolved and disappeared. Had not Israel stood before Mount Sinai and said: *All that the Lord hath said we will do and obey* (Exodus 24:7), the world might have already reverted to chaos. And who made the world stand firm? *I [anokhi] made the pillars of it stand firm*, because of the merit Israel acquired in heeding "I [anokhi] am the Lord thy God." (W. G. Braude, Rabbati, 21:21, p. 451)

Zornberg comments on the passage above as follows:

On a first reading, it seems that what saves the world from decomposing is God and His Law, which the people obediently accept. ("It is I who gives solidity to the world, through my commandments, encoded in the opening word of the Ten Commandments, *anokhi*—I....") But there is another possible—and compelling

reading. Here, the *anokhi*, which gives substance and coherence to reality, is the “I” of human beings. Rashi reads the proof-text, the verse from Psalms (75:4), in just this unexpected way: “It is I who keeps its pillars firm”—when I said, ‘We shall do and we shall listen.’” The people are responsible for the “I” that “fixes,” that congeals a dissolving reality. The world is saved by a human affirmation, a human “standing at Sinai,” which halts the process of disintegration. (A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 28)

896 D&C 84:23-27; JST Exodus 34:1-2.

897 Exodus 20:18.

898 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, pp. 32-33. Zornberg’s comment is based on a midrash of Rashi on Exodus 20:15-16 (= KJV Exodus 20:18): “And all the people could see the sounds and the flames, the sound of the shofar and the smoking mountain; the people saw and they moved and they stood from afar. They said to Moses, ‘You speak to us and we shall hear; let God not speak to us lest we die’” (Rashi, *Exodus Commentary*, pp. 240-241). The “sounds” are read as coming from the “mouth of the Almighty.” The movement is one of trembling, not to be understood as the same one that led them to be standing “from afar.” Rashi says that the people “drew back twelve miles, the length of their camp, and the ministering angels would come and assist them to return, as it says ‘The kings of legions move about’ (Psalm 68:13)” (*ibid.*, p. 241). “The *Talmud* reads the word ‘kings’ as ‘angels,’ and the intransitive verb ‘move about’ as the transitive verb ‘move others’ (see *Mechilta; Shabbos* 88a)” (Editor’s note in *ibid.*, p. 241).

899 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, pp. 23-24.

900 “R. Simeon b. Yohai observed: As long as a man refrains from sin he is an object of awe and fear. The moment he sins he is himself subject to awe and fear. Before Adam sinned he used to hear the voice of the divine communication while standing on his feet and without flinching. As soon as he sinned, he heard the voice of the divine communication and hid... (Genesis 3:8). R. Abin said: Before Adam sinned, the Voice sounded to him gentle; after he had sinned it sounded to him harsh. Before Israel had sinned, *The appearance of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount* (Exodus 24:17). R. Abba b. Kahana observed: Seven partitions of fire were consuming one another and Israel looked on undaunted and undismayed. As soon as they had sinned, however, they could not even look at the face of the intermediary [i.e., Moses] (Exodus 34:30)” (H. Freedman *et al.*, *Midrash, Numbers* (Naso), 11:3, p. 419).

901 Mark 9:2-13.

902 Exodus 24:18, 33:7-11.

903 C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Reflections*, pp. 299-301. I am indebted to David Larsen for the reference to Fletcher-Louis’ article relating to this topic.

904 Ibid., p. 303. Fletcher-Louis cites the following from Philo:

“Here I *stand* there before you, on the rock in Horeb” (Exodus 17:6), which means, “this I, the manifest, Who am here, am there also, am everywhere, for I have filled all things. I *stand* ever the same immutable, before you or anything that exists came into being, established on the topmost and most ancient source of power, whence showers forth the birth of all that is....” And Moses too gives his testimony to the unchangeableness of the deity when he says “they saw the place where the God of Israel stood” (Exodus 24:10), for by the *standing* or establishment he indicates his immutability. But indeed so vast in its excess is the stability of the Deity that He imparts to chosen natures a share of His steadfastness to be their richest possession. For instance, He says of His covenant filled with His bounties, the highest law and principle, that is, which rules existent things, that this god-like image shall be firmly planted with the righteous soul as its pedestal... And it is the earnest desire of all the God-beloved to fly from the stormy waters of engrossing business with its perpetual turmoil of surge and billow, and anchor in the calm safe shelter of virtue’s roadsteads. See what is said of wise Abraham, how he was “*standing* in front of God” (Genesis 18:22), for when should we expect a mind to *stand* and no longer sway as on the balance save when it is opposite God, seeing and being seen?... To Moses, too, this divine command was given: “Stand here with me” (Deuteronomy 5:31), and this brings out both the points suggested above, namely the unswerving quality of the man of worth, and the absolute stability of Him that IS. (modified by Fletcher-Louis from Philo, *Dreams*, 2:32, 221-2:33, 227, pp. 543, 545).

Fletcher-Louis comments on parallels between Philo, 4Q377 from Qumran, and the Pentateuch:

Like Philo, 4Q377 is working with Deuteronomy 5:5, the giving of the Torah, and perhaps Exodus 17:6. Both texts think standing is a posture indicative of a transcendent identity in which the righteous can participate and of which Moses is the pre-eminent example. With the stability of standing is contrasted the corruptibility of motion, turmoil and storms, which is perhaps reflected in the tension between Israel’s “standing” (lines 4 and 10) and her “trembling” (line 9) before the Glory of God in the Qumran text. Whether this and other similar passages in Philo (cf. esp. *Sacr.* 8-10; *Post.* 27-29) are genetically related to 4Q377 is not certain, but remains a possibility. (C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Reflections*, p. 304)

905 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, pp. 23-24.

906 Psalm 82:6-7 and Zornberg’s translation of Midrash Genesis 18:6. Freedman’s translation is: “You have followed the course of Adam who did not withstand his trials for more than three hours, and at nine hours death was decreed upon him (H. Freedman *et al.*, *Midrash, Genesis*, 18:6, p. 146). [Nine hours would be about three in

the afternoon, the day being counted from 6 am to 6 pm]" (ibid., Exodus (Mishpatim), 32:1, p. 404).

907 W. Shakespeare, Hamlet, 3:3:36, p. 1166.

908 Luke 2:52, emphasis mine. Cf. 1 Samuel 2:21, 26, where a similar description is given of the child Samuel. The Hebrew term *gadol* in v. 26 has to do with becoming great in size, maturity, or ability, not just growing older (see, e.g., F. Brown *et al.*, Lexicon, 152d).

909 Ephesians 4:13. The idea that the verse is referring to bodily stature seems fitting, since there is an explicit reference to the "body of Christ" in v. 12 and the metaphorical "body" of the Church in v. 16. A. E. Harvey sees the first part of this phrase, which he translates with a definite article as "*the* perfect man," as "perhaps referring to ... the second Adam, who is Christ" (A. E. Harvey, Companion 2004, p. 620 n. 7).

910 Matthew 6:27. I.e., "Who grows by worrying about one's height?" (F. W. Danker *et al.*, Greek-English Lexicon, p. 436). The use of the English word "stature" connects with the growth of the flowers in the next verse and "with the height of growth of the crops [in the previous one] ... In the LXX and [Symmachus' Greek translation of] Ezekiel 13:18, *helikia* is the translation of the Hebrew *qomah*, and perhaps there is a confusion between *qomah*, 'stature' or 'height,' and *quamah*, meaning 'standing corn' and the meaning that no one could, without God, add to the height of his crops" (S. T. Lachs, Rabbinic Commentary, p. 132 n. 27). The Book of Mormon follows the KJV in rendering the key term as "stature" (3 Nephi 13:27).

The operative word for measurement is the Greek *pēchus* (forearm), hence the translation of "cubit" in the KJV. Nevertheless, some well-respected scholars take *pēchus* figuratively as "span" and translate the contextually sensitive Greek term *hēlikia* in terms of adding to the length of one's life rather than to one's height (e.g., C. S. Keener, Gospel of Matthew, p. 237; R. T. France, Gospel of Matthew, pp. 268-269; H. D. Betz *et al.*, Sermon, p. 476). See also F. W. Danker *et al.*, Greek-English Lexicon, pp. 435-436 who describe "age" as a first meaning of the term, but then admit that some scholars hold Matthew 6:27 and Luke 12:25 as referring to bodily stature (as in some non-biblical sources), noting also that "many would prefer 'stature' [in this sense] for Luke 2:52; Ephesians 4:13."

In any case, whether we take age or height as the metaphor, the theme in all these verses is "maturity, as opposed to remaining children (cf. 1 Corinthians 3:1-3; 13:11; 14:20; Philemon 3:15; Colossians 1:28)" (A.-J. Levine *et al.*, Jewish Annotated, p. 350 n. 13-14). After examining the alternatives, J. Nolland, Matthew, p. 311 also highlights the "obvious links with the idea of maturity" in Matthew 6:27. "Standing alone it can refer to the requisite age(-range) for some activity or state of affairs (to be physically mature, be of age to take responsibility, etc.). The physical sense 'stature' is also derived from the idea of growing up and thus becoming bigger over time."

911 J. W. Welch, Sermon; J. W. Welch, Light. Welch defines as a “temple text”:

... one that contains the most sacred teachings of the plan of salvation that are not to be shared indiscriminately, and that ordains or otherwise conveys divine powers through ceremonial or symbolic means, together with commandments received by sacred oaths that allow the recipient to stand ritually in the presence of God. Several such texts are found in the Book of Mormon. In addition to the text of Ether 1-4 regarding the brother of Jared, the most notable are Jacob’s speech in 2 Nephi 6-10, Benjamin’s speech in Mosiah 1-6, Alma’s words in Alma 12-13, and Jesus’ teachings in 3 Nephi 11-18. (J. W. Welch, *Temple in the Book of Mormon*, p. 301)

912 J. W. Welch, Light, p. 210.

913 Matthew 5:13.

914 Matthew 5:48-64.

915 Matthew 7:14.

916 Matthew 6:25-7:23.

917 Matthew 6:33; JST Matthew 6:38; 3 Nephi 13:33.

918 Matthew 6:31-33; JST Matthew 6:34-48; 3 Nephi 13:31-33. See H. W. Nibley, *Gifts*.

919 J. W. Welch, Sermon, p. 69; cf. J. W. Welch, Light, pp. 161-164. This theme also recalls passages such as the following: “take upon you my whole armor, that ye may be able to withstand the evil day, having done all, that ye may be able to *stand*” (D&C 27:15, emphasis mine, see also v. 16).

920 Cf. Ephesians 4:16.

921 On the role of revelation in providing the specifications for temple building, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 561-563.

922 Exodus chapters 25-31.

923 Ezekiel chapters 40-48.

924 Revelation 11:1-2. See also Zechariah chapter 2.

925 J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Investiture Panel*.

926 Thorkild Jacobsen, cited in K. E. Slanski, *Rod and Ring*, p. 45.

927 Ezekiel 40:3. See D. I. Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, pp. 512, 515. Thanks to Matthew B. Brown for this reference.

928 H. W. Nibley, *Circle*. See also, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, *passim*.

929 K. E. Slanski, *Rod and Ring*, p. 51. Black agrees with Slanski’s interpretation, stating that the “rod and ring” are “thought to depict a pair of measuring

instruments, a rule and a tape, taken as symbolic of divine justice” (J. A. Black *et al.*, *Gods*, p. 156).

930 Ephesians 4:13.

931 J. W. Welch, *Light*, p. 160.

932 See Exodus 25-27, 37-38; 1 Kings 6-7; 2 Chronicles 3; Ezekiel 40-43.

933 J. W. Welch, *Light*, p. 160.

934 B. R. McConkie, *Sermons*, p. 208, see also p. 211. About the possibility that John was drawing parallels between the Garden of Eden, the Garden of Gethsemane, and the Garden of the tomb and resurrection, Craig S. Keener cautiously writes:

Only John mentions the “garden” (John 18:1, 26; 19:41); gardens often were walled enclosures. Perhaps John alludes to the reversal of the Fall (cf. Romans 5:12-21) in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:8-16), but John nowhere else uses an explicit Adam Christology, and the Septuagint uses [*kepos*] for the Hebrew’s Garden of Eden only in Ezekiel 36:35 (and there omits mention of Eden, normally preferring [*paradeisos*]), rendering the parallel less likely. (John could offer his own free translation, but the proposed allusion, in any case, lacks adequate additional support to be clear.) The Markan line of tradition suggests that perhaps olive trees grew nearby; its name, Gethsemane, suggests an olive press and hence was probably the name for an olive orchard at the base of Mount Olivet. In the Septuagint, a [*kepos*] appears as an agricultural unit alongside olive groves and vineyards (e.g., 1 Kings 21:2; 2 Kings 5:26; Song of Solomon 6:11; Amos 4:9, 9:14). If the garden has symbolic import (which it might not), it may connect Jesus’ arrest with his tomb and the site of his resurrection (John 19:41) or perhaps allude to the seed that must die (John 12:24) or to the Father’s pruning (John 15:1). (C. S. Keener, *John*, p. 1077)

935 Moses 4:6. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image 1*, p. 249.

936 John 17:12. Craig R. Koester explains:

Judas’ defection is accompanied by his alliance with the circle of Jesus’ opponents. When Jesus was met by soldiers and police in the garden, the evangelist points out that Judas “was standing with them” (John 18:5). The detail confirms that Judas is no longer one of Jesus’ followers but has become one of his foes. His group membership visibly changes... By standing with them, Judas shows that he belongs to those who are swayed by the demonic ruler of this world. (C. R. Koester, *Symbolism*, p. 74)

937 John 18:4.

938 H. N. Ridderbos, *John*, p. 576. Just as with Adam and Eve’s transgression:

God did not cause the evil of betrayal but turned it in a direction that ultimately served his saving purposes. When Judas is introduced in John 6:70, he is called “a

devil.” The evangelist does not speculate about the reasons for Judas becoming a devil, but accepts the evil as a given. The question is: Given the presence of evil, whatever its origin, how will God and Christ deal with it? As the story unfolds, Judas is a devil, but Jesus chooses him along with the other disciples (John 6:70); the devil puts betrayal into Judas’ heart, yet Jesus washes his feet (John 13:1-11). Jesus gives Judas a piece of bread, only to have Satan enter; so Jesus gives the betrayer permission to leave (John 13:26-30). Rather than causing the evil, Christ meets evil with gracious actions, finally turning the evil toward God’s saving ends. (C. R. Koester, *Symbolism*, p. 75)

939 J. E. Talmage, *Jesus the Christ*, p. 571.

940 H. N. Ridderbos, *John*, p. 576.

941 John 18:4-6.

942 As Beale and Carson explain:

Jesus’ self-identification in 18:5, “I am,” probably has connotations of deity... This is strongly suggested by the soldiers’ falling to the ground in 18:6, a common reaction to divine revelation (see Ezekiel 1:28, 44:4; Daniel 2:46, 8:18, 10:9; Acts 9:4, 22:7, 26:14; Revelation 1:17, 19:10, 22:8). This falling of the soldiers is reminiscent of certain passages in Psalms (see Psalms 27:2, 35:4; cf. 56:9; see also Elijah’s experience in 2 Kings 1:9-14). Jewish literature recounts the similar story of the attempted arrest of Simeon (Genesis Rabbah 91:6). The reaction also highlights Jesus’ messianic authority in keeping with texts such as Isaiah 11:4 (cf. 2 Esdras 13:3-4). (G. K. Beale *et al.*, *NT Use of the OT*, John 18-19, p. 499)

943 R. E. Brown, *Death*, 1:261. The entire passage from Raymond Brown is instructive:

OT antecedents for this reaction have been proposed, e.g., Psalm 56:10(9): “My enemies will be turned back... in the day when I shall call upon you”; Psalm 27:2: “When evildoers come at me... my foes and my enemies themselves stumble and fall...”; Psalm 35:4: “Let those be turned back... and confounded who plot evil against me.” Falling down (*piptein*) as a reaction to divine revelation is attested in Daniel 2:46, 8:18; Revelation 1:17; and that is how John would have the reader understand the reaction to Jesus’ pronouncement. *Piptein chamai* is combined with the verb “to worship” in Job 1:20. No matter what one thinks of the historicity of this scene, it should not be explained away or trivialized. To know or use the divine name, as Jesus does, is an exercise of awesome power. In Acts 3:6 Peter heals a lame man “in the name of Jesus of Nazareth,” i.e., by the power of the name that Jesus has been given by God; and “there is no other name under heaven among human beings by which we must be saved.” Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 9:27:24-26 in J. H. Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, 2:901; GCS 43.522) attributes to Artapanus, who lived before the 1st century BC, the legend that

when Moses uttered before Pharaoh the secret name of God, Pharaoh fell speechless to the ground (R. D. Bury, *ExpTim* 24 (1912-13), 233). That legend may or may not have been known when John wrote, but it illustrates an outlook that makes John's account of the arrest intelligible.

This same Jesus will say to Pilate, "You have no power over me at all except what was given to you from above" (John 19:11). Here he shows how powerless before him are the troops of the Roman cohort and the police attendants from the chief priests—the representatives of the two groups who will soon interrogate him and send him to the cross. Indeed, an even wider extension of Jesus' power may be intended. Why does John suddenly, in the midst of this dramatic interchange, mention the otiose presence of Judas, "now standing there with them was also Judas, the one who was giving him over" (John 18:5)? John 17:12 calls Judas "the son of perdition," a phrase used in 2 Thessalonians 2:3-4 to describe the antichrist who exalts himself to the level of God. Is the idea that the representative of the power of evil must also fall powerless before Jesus? I have already pointed out a close Johannine parallel to the Mark/Matthew saying about the coming near of the one who gives Jesus over, namely, John 14:30: "For the Prince of this world is coming." In John 12:31, in the context of proclaiming the coming of the hour (John 12:23) and of praying about that hour (John 12:27), Jesus exclaims, "Now will the Prince of this world be driven out" (or "cast down," a textual variant; see also 16:11). (R. E. Brown, *Death*, 1:261-262)

Keener offers additional precedents for the "involuntary prostration" of Jesus' enemies:

Other ancient texts report falling backward in terror—for instance, fearing that one has dishonored God (*Sipra Sh. M.D.* 99:5:12; cf. perhaps 1 Samuel 4:18). (C. S. Keener, *John*, p. 1082)

Talbert, *John*, 233, adds later traditions in which priests fell on their faces when hearing the divine name (*b. Qidd.* 71a; *Eccl. Rab.* 3:11, S3). (*ibid.*, p. 1082 n. 124)

944 Matthew Brown points out further parallels to Mount Sinai and the temple during the culminating scenes of the Atonement on the Mount of Olives (M. B. Brown, *Gate*, p. 176):

Shortly before his crucifixion, the Savior took the twelve apostles, and perhaps others, with Him to the Garden of Gethsemane, which is located on the western slope of the Mount of Olives. When they had entered into the garden area, the Lord instructed the majority of His disciples to wait for Him while He took Peter, James, and John further into the Garden. Then, at some unspecified location, Christ told Peter, James, and John to stay where they were while He "went a little further" into Gethsemane by Himself (see Matthew 26:30-39; Mark 14:26-36). It was in this third area of the Garden that the Savior was visited and strengthened by an angel and where He shed His sacrificial blood (see JST Luke 22:43-44). This

pattern is intriguing because it seems to match the tripartite division of the people during the Mount Sinai episode (Ground Level—Israelites, Half-Way—Seventy Elders, Top—Moses) and the tripartite division in the temple complex (Courtyard—Israelites, Holy Place—Priests, Holy of Holies—High Priest). It was, of course, in the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement that the final rite was performed to purge the sins of the Israelites with sacrificial blood (see Leviticus 16:15).

945 See C. S. Keener, *John*, pp. 40-47 for an assessment of the evidence that John's tradition was rooted in pre-70 Jewish Palestine. Among others, Keener cites James Charlesworth, who "suggests that today nearly all John scholars 'have concluded that John may contain some of the oldest traditions in ... the Gospels'" (*ibid.*, p. 47).

946 In viewing this detachment as composed of the temple guards, rather than a Roman cohort, I am accepting the conclusions of Ridderbos: "As in the Septuagint and Josephus, this guard is, like its captain (the 'chiliarch' in v. 12), given Roman military names. John calls these temple police '*the [speira]*,' that is, the only qualified armed group, under the circumstances, at the Sanhedrin's disposal, along with the Sanhedrin's own court officers" (H. N. Ridderbos, *John*, p. 575). For a more extensive discussion that reaches the same conclusion, see C. S. Keener, *John*, pp. 1078-1080.

947 S. K. Brown, *Arrest*, p. 201. See, e.g., D&C 88:49.

948 Thus, in agreement with K. L. Barney, NT Footnotes, Matthew 24:15, 1:135 n. 1: "This is a participle in agreement with 'abomination'; it is not an imperative directed at the hearer. I.e. ,so when you see the desolating sacrilege standing in the holy place.'"

949 J. N. Sparks *et al.*, *Orthodox Study Bible*, Matthew 24:15n., p. 1315. Beale elaborates:

The "desolating sacrilege" in 24:15 clearly alludes to the horror prophesied in Daniel 9:27 and repeated in 11:31; and 12:11, with Jesus explicitly mentioning the prophet's name. In the OT it occurs first in the context of Daniel's famous but notoriously difficult prophecy about seventy "weeks of years" (i.e., 490 years [9:24-27]). Seven times seven times ten almost certainly represents a symbolic number for a perfect period of time, and the abomination of desolation is related to something "set up on a wing," presumably of the temple, since Jerusalem and its sanctuary are said to be destroyed (Daniel 9:26...). First Maccabees 1:54 understood this prophecy to have been fulfilled in the desecration of the temple sanctuary by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Seleucid ruler who sacrificed swine on the Jewish altar and ransacked the capital city, leading to the Maccabean revolt of 167-164 BC [see also 2 Macc. 8:17]. Jesus is envisioning a similarly horrifying event accompanying the destruction of the temple in the first century; indeed, Roman troops did again desecrate the building as they virtually razed it to the ground in AD 70 (cf. Luke 21:20). The disciples comment on the temple that they

can see from the Mount of Olives. Jesus then predicts *its* destruction. Luke explicitly takes it this way. Nothing in the context supports the notion that a temple rebuilt centuries later, only to be destroyed again, is in view. The disciples would have naturally associated the destruction of the temple with “the end of the age” (24:3), even if Jesus goes on to separate the two in his sermon... Foretelling the destruction of the temple, of course, places Jesus in a long line of prophets (cf. Micah 3:2; Jeremiah 7:8-15; 9:10-11; 26:6, 18...). (G. K. Beale *et al.*, NT Use of the OT, Matthew 24:1-31, p. 86)

950 Daniel 12:11.

951 JS-Matthew 1:12, emphasis added.

952 JS-Matthew 1:32. Ogden and Skinner comment: “That is, as in the first century after Christ (v. 12), so in the last century before his second coming: Jerusalem will be besieged and suffer much destruction” (D. K. Ogden *et al.*, Gospels, p. 518). Dennis concurs with the idea that a figurative repetition of this event will occur in the “last days”:

Jesus clarifies that the complete fulfillment of Daniel’s prophecy will be found in (1) the Roman destruction of the temple in AD 70 and (2) the image of the Antichrist being set up in the last days (cf. 2 Thessalonians 2:4: Revelation 13:14). (L. T. Dennis *et al.*, ESV, Matthew 24:15n., p. 1873)

Though such an event may indeed be part of what is being prophesied by JS-Matthew 1:32, the desolation predicted in D&C 43:31-33 appears to be of much more extensive in scope.

953 Emphasis added.

954 Besides JS-Matthew 1:32 and D&C 45:32, see D&C 87:6-8, 101:22.

955 D. A. Bednar, Stand. See also citations such as the following: “For I will reveal myself from heaven with power and great glory... and the wicked shall not *stand*” (D&C 29:11); Behold, the great day of the Lord is at hand; and who can abide the day of his coming, and who can *stand* when he appeareth?” (D&C 128:24); “the wicked” shall say “the inhabitants of Zion are terrible; wherefore we cannot *stand*” (D&C 45:70); “For when the Lord shall appear he shall be terrible unto them, that fear may seize upon them, and they shall *stand* afar off and tremble” (D&C 45:74); “For after your testimony cometh the testimony of earthquakes, ... and men shall fall upon the ground and shall not be able to *stand*” (D&C 88:89).

956 See Exodus 12:11. Though the Samaritans continue to eat the Passover in this way (J. Tabory, Haggadah, p. 3; see also Ibn Ezra, cited in M. Carasik, Exodus, 12:11, p. 80), later Jewish interpreters began to teach the instructions to stand and eat in haste only applied to the first Passover in Egypt (e.g., Ibn Ezra, cited in *ibid.*, 12:11, p. 80). The *Mishnah* specified that “even the poorest Israelite should not eat until he reclines at his table” (J. Neusner, *Mishnah*, Pesachim, 10:1b, p. 249). Maimonides

explained that in this reclining he was “like a king with the ease becoming a free man” (note to *Mishnah* 10:1, cited in W. Smith, Dictionary, 3:2346). This practice was followed by Jesus and His disciples at the Last Supper (e.g., Luke 22:14). “The prophet Isaiah (52:12) implicitly contrasts the future unhurried and unagitated redemption of Israel from exile with the circumstances of the Exodus: ‘For you will not depart in haste [*hippazon*], / Nor will you leave in flight’” (N. M. Sarna, Exodus, 12:11, p. 56).

957 Cf. D&C 89:21.

958 E. T. Benson, Teachings 1988, p. 106.

959 M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, Bereishis, 18:32, 1:673. Tvedtnes notes: “The angels of the presence ‘stand’ in God’s presence (e.g., Luke 1:19 and numerous pseudepigrapha). In Judaism, the *amidah* (standing prayer) brings one into God’s presence. In the *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, the first couple stand inside the cave of treasures to pray. After being cast out of the garden, this was their only way of approaching the presence of God” (J. A. Tvedtnes, March 8 2010; see J. A. Tvedtnes, Temple Prayer, p. 80).

960 Isaiah 33:20, 54:2.

961 D&C 57:3.

962 D&C 101:21.

963 D&C 124:36; cf. D&C 45:66, 115:6.

964 D&C 84:2, emphasis added.

965 Mosiah 2:5.

966 See, e.g., D. A. Bednar, Stand; J. R. Clark, Messages, 5:254; D. H. Oaks, Preparing, p. 7; L. B. Wickman, Stand.

967 D&C 123:17. Cf. D&C 4:2: “serve him with all your heart, might, mind and strength, that ye may stand blameless before God at the last day.”

968 2 Nephi 2:8.

969 D&C 123:17, emphasis added. Compare Exodus 14:13.

970 D. W. Parry, Psalm 24.

971 Psalm 24:3.

972 Psalm 24:4.

973 C. C. Riddle, New, pp. 241-242.

974 “I the Lord... will stand by you” (D&C 68:6; cf. D&C 122:4).

975 Philo maintained that it is only when a mind “is opposite God” that it can be expected to “*stand* and no longer sway... For that which draws near to God enters

into affinity with what is, and through that immutability becomes self-standing (Philo, *Dreams*, 2:34:226, 228, p. 545).

976 B. Gittin 43a, as cited in A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 385 n. 83.

977 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

978 Rashi, *Exodus Commentary*, p. 241.

979 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, *Apocalypse of Abraham* 10:1-4, p. 17. For parallels between this ancient text and the book of Moses, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 694-696.

980 A. G. Zornberg, *Genesis*, p. 32.

981 G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, pp. 102-103.

982 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 18.

983 T. Stordalen, *Echoes*, pp. 257-261.

984 E.g., 1 Nephi 17:5; Alma 22:29-31.

985 W. J. Hamblin, *Prophets*, pp. 137, 146-147, 155 n. 52; G. Potter *et al.*, *Lehi*, p. 126; *Qur'an* 2:25, 26:128, 134, 46:21. It is perhaps not coincidental that “Nauvoo,” the name chosen by Joseph Smith for the “City Beautiful” in Illinois, appeared in Seixas’ Hebrew textbook in a Sephardic transliteration as one form of the verb *na’ah*, means “to be comely” (Isaiah 52:7; Song of Solomon 1:10; K. L. Barney, *Nauvoo*). See also H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 16, pp. 200-201. Ezekiel 28:13, 31 further describe the beauty of Paradise.

986 This expression has become well-known because of the First Presidency statement on the Welfare Program in the October 1936 General Conference wherein it was said that “the curse of idleness would be done away with” (H. J. Grant, *Teachings* 2002, p. 115). However, it seems to have originated with Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the Victorian preacher and advocate of the British Charity Organization Society. He characterized this society as “a charity to which the curse of idleness is subjected to the rule of the under-magistrate of earthly society: work.” By providing jobs to the poor, the society would fulfill what he saw as the biblical mandate “to rid the impoverished of the curse of idleness” and to “rebuild self-reliance and productivity.” The phrase “curse of idleness” was further popularized in O. S. Marden, *Architects*—see esp. pp. 463ff.

Though idleness is not a virtue, neither is much of the world’s work, especially when fueled by greed, inequity, careerism, dishonesty, or when it fosters neglect of the higher purposes of life.

987 M. Henry, *Commentary*, *Genesis* 2:8-15, p. 9.

988 *Ibid.*, *Genesis* 2:8-15, p. 9.

989 N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 18. But see the interesting discussion in N. Wyatt, When Adam.

990 F. Brown *et al.*, Lexicon, pp. 712b-713c. Wyatt notes that the various shades of meaning in the Hebrew word *'bd* are an analogue to the common etymology in English of the terms “cultivate,” “cult,” and “culture” (N. Wyatt, When Adam, p. 56).

991 F. Brown *et al.*, Lexicon, p. 1036b.

992 J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, pp. 146-149.

993 G. J. Wenham, Genesis 1-15, p. 67; cf. U. Cassuto, Adam to Noah, pp. 122-123; D. W. Parry, Service, p. 45. For example, Numbers 3:8 says that the Levites “shall keep (*shamar*) all the instruments of the Tabernacle of the congregation, and the charge of the children of Israel, to do the service (*abad*) of the Tabernacle.” Consistent with a general tendency to downplay or omit temple imagery, Islamic sources do not mention the duty of Adam and Eve to care for the Garden (D. C. Peterson, Qur'anic tree of life).

994 Cited in M. B. Brown, Gate, p. 33.

995 J. H. Sailhamer, Genesis, p. 45; cf. Deuteronomy 30:16, 1 Nephi 2:20.

996 Moses 3:2-3. Sailhamer observes: “Unlike the other days of Creation,... the seventh day stands apart from the other six days in not having an account of its conclusion. It is this feature of the narrative that has suggested a picture of an eternal, divine ‘Sabbath’... Consequently, immediately after the narrative of the Fall (Moses 4:27), ...the verb *asah* points to an interruption of God’s ‘Sabbath’” when, as a final act of Creation, He made coats of skin for Adam and Eve” (ibid., pp. 38-39).

997 N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 15. Note that the words I have borrowed from Sarna were written in a context describing mankind’s weekly Sabbath, not the seventh day of Creation.

998 Like other events in the story of Genesis, the scriptural account also portrays the past as harbinger of the future. Writes Sailhamer: “At important points along the way, the author will return to the theme of God’s ‘rest’ as a reminder of what yet lies ahead (Moses 3:15; 8:9; Genesis 8:4; Exodus 20:11; Deuteronomy 5:14; 12:10; 25:19). Later biblical writers continued to see a parallel between God’s ‘rest’ in Creation and the future ‘rest’ that awaits the faithful” (J. H. Sailhamer, Genesis, p. 39. See Psalm 95:11; Hebrews 3:11).

In the book of Hebrews, readers are urged to enter into the “Lord’s rest” (Hebrews 4:3, 10). Explains Catherine Thomas: “They had tarried too long in the foothills of spiritual experience. Having ‘tasted of the heavenly gift,... the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come’ (Hebrews 6:4-6), they could no longer delay resuming the climb lest they lose the promise.... The promise that Paul refers to repeatedly is that same promise explained in Doctrine and Covenants 88:68-69:

“Therefore, sanctify yourselves... and the days will come that you shall see [God]; for he will unveil his face unto you” (M. C. Thomas, Hebrews, pp. 479-480).

999 For my views on the topic of spiritual creation, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 134-144, 153-156, 200, 540, 716.

1000 E.g., E. A. Speiser, *Creation Epic*, 1:1-2, pp. 60-61. See discussion in C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, pp. 43-47. The Genesis/Moses version of this convention is unique in that it seems to indicate that the Fall, rather than the first act of Creation, is the principal transforming event with which the story is concerned.

1001 U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, pp. 101-103.

1002 Cf. Moses 5:1, 2 Nephi 2:19.

1003 Moses 3:9.

1004 M. Zlotowitz *et al.*, *Bereishis*, pp. 88-90.

1005 Ubar's history may go back as early as 3000 BC. Westerners learned of the city by its Arabic name Iram from the stories of the *Thousand and One Arabian Nights* but because it had disappeared in the early centuries of the Christian era no one really knew if there were any facts behind the fiction. T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) dubbed the lost city as “The Atlantis of the Sands,” and local traditions said that it had been swallowed up in the sands because of its wickedness. Guided by NASA satellite photographs taken in the 1980s, explorers proclaimed their discovery of the lost city in 1992.

1006 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 28. The Greek Septuagint reads “in your labors” (J. W. Wevers, *Notes*, p. 46).

1007 2 Nephi 2:11.

1008 S. L. Della Torre, *Anxiety*, p. 7.

1009 See Daniel 4. The *Gospel of Philip* says: “There are two trees growing in Paradise. The one bears [animals], the other bears men. Adam [ate] from the tree which bore animals. [He] became an animal” (W. W. Isenberg, *Philip*, 71:21-72:4, p. 152). *Philip* uses, as Barker points out, “the usual apocalyptists’ code of mortal = animal and angel = man. The text is broken, but the sense is clear enough” (M. Barker, June 11 2007. See M. Barker, *Hidden*, pp. 45-47; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Glory*, p. 33). Ephrem the Syrian reasoned that since Adam “went astray through [an animal] he became like the [animals]: He ate, together with them as a result of the curse, grass and roots” (Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 13:5, p. 170).

Nibley connects the story of Nebuchadnezzar's “fall” to the Egyptian story of Osiris who, like Adam, was said to have been freed from a split tree (H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, p. 289):

In the book of Daniel, the tree that was split was the king himself (Daniel 4:13-15, 22); however the stump was not destroyed but preserved for a seven-year period (Daniel 4:23), during which time the king was ritually humiliated... (Daniel 4:33; cf. *Apis-bull* and *Horus-hawk*), only to resume his throne with all his glory greatly enhanced at the end of the seven-year period (Daniel 4:25, 31-34). This is the Egyptian seven-year throne period of the king... The splitting of the tree is plainly the substitute sacrifice, while its preservation against the time when the king shall be restored recalls the important role of the *ished-tree* in the coronation.

Although nothing like this episode can be associated directly with the historic King Nebuchadnezzar (605-562 BCE), both Neo-Babylonian inscriptions and the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242) fragment of the *Dead Sea Scrolls* provide evidence of a pre-Danielic tradition associating a similar story with Nabonidus, the last ruler of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (556-539 BCE) and father of Belsharusur (biblical "King Belshazzar"—see Daniel 5:22, 7:1, 8:1; F. G. Martinez, DSS Translated, p. 289; L. T. Stuckenbruck, Daniel, pp. 104-106; J. A. Tvedtnes, Nebuchadnezzar; G. Vermes, Complete, p. 614; M. Wise *et al.*, DSS, pp. 340-342). In his prayer, the king tells of his suffering with an "evil skin disease" for a period of seven years by the decree of God, and at least one scholar has proposed that a lacuna in the text "originally described Nabunay's state as comparable to that of a beast (see Daniel 4:25b), or that he was 'set apart from human beings'" (L. T. Stuckenbruck, Daniel, p. 105. See Daniel 4:25a). After appealing to gods of silver, gold, bronze, iron, wood, stone, and clay, his sins were forgiven by a Jewish healer after he finally prayed to the Most High God. A similar healing blessing performed by Abraham with the laying of hands upon the head is described in F. G. Martinez, Genesis Apocryphon, 20:28-29, p. 234.

1010 Blake Online, Blake Online. See also W. Blake, Illuminated Blake, p. 121; N. Frye, Symmetry, pp. 270-272. It has often been claimed that Blake himself struggled with madness. See J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, p. 783.

This picture was painted in 1795. In France, Louis XVI had been executed two years before. Meanwhile, in England, George III, whose yoke the American colonists had recently thrown off, suffered from bouts of insanity[—thus] this picture of a degraded king [could] be an expression of Blake's republican sentiments..." (Blake Online, Blake Online).

"In his outcry against the imposition of any code of uniformity upon contrary individualities," Blake reminds society that "it tempts the fate of Nebuchadnezzar, a fall into dazed bestiality, if it will not heed the warnings of [the prophet's transforming] vision" (H. Bloom, Blake's Apocalypse, p. 96).

1011 P. B. R. Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children.

1012 Besides the scriptural example of Nebuchadnezzar, Doob includes in the former category the Arthurian knights Yvain, Lancelot, and Tristan, who were driven mad by

disappointments in love. See, e.g., C. de Troyes, Yvain, p. 189, where Yvain “dwelt in the forest like a madman or a savage.” Thanks to Professor Jesse Hurlbut for this reference.

1013 Described as a “wild man” in Moses 6:38.

1014 See 1 Corinthians 4:10.

1015 Abraham 1:2.

1016 G. A. Anderson *et al.*, Synopsis, 4:2, p. 5E; G. A. Anderson, Penitence, pp. 13-19; G. A. Anderson, Perfection, pp. 141-147.

1017 S. L. Della Torre, Anxiety, p. 7.

1018 M. Maher, Pseudo-Jonathan, 3:18, p. 28.

1019 G. A. Anderson, Original Form, p. 229. As part of this reading of Moses 4:24-25, the phrase “By the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread” was seen by some early interpreters as God’s promise to provide a less humiliating form of sustenance once Adam’s penance was complete. At its conclusion, “God rescinds [His] initial decree and offers [him] seed-bearing grain from which he can make bread... [thus fulfilling] a prophecy made at the end of the sixth day of creation” (G. A. Anderson, Penitence, p. 19; see Moses 2:29). A Coptic Christian tradition specifically mentions wheat (along with instructions for sowing and reaping) as having been divinely provided in answer to Adam’s cries of hunger:

If Thou art moved with compassion for the man whom We have created, and who has rejected My commandment, go Thou and give him Thine own flesh and let him eat thereof, for it is Thou Who has made Thyself his advocate.” Then our Lord took a little piece of the flesh of His divine side, and rubbed it down into small pieces, and showed them to His Father. When God saw them He said to His Son, “Wait and I will give Thee some of My own flesh, which is invisible.” Then God took a portion of His own body, and made it into a grain of wheat, and He sealed the grain in the middle with the seal wherewith He sealed the worlds of light, and then gave it to our Lord and told Him to give it to Michael, the archangel,¹⁰¹⁹ who was to give it to Adam and teach him how to sow and reap it. Michael found Adam by the Jordan, who as he had eaten nothing for eight days was crying to God for food, and as soon as Adam received the grain of wheat, he ceased to cry out, and became strong, and his descendants have lived on wheat ever since. Water, wheat and the throne of God “are the equals of the Son of God. (E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, cited in E. A. W. Budge, Cave, pp. 18-19 n. 1. See also M. i. A. A. al-Kisa’i, Tales, pp. 68-70; al-Tabari, Creation, 1:127-130, pp. 298-300; S. C. Malan, Adam and Eve, 1:66-68, pp.78-83; D&C 89:17)

An Ethiopian source asserts that the Tree of Life “is the Body of Christ which none of the Seraphim touch without reverent awe” (B. Mika’el, Mysteries, p. 26). Note that the

Egyptian Osiris was thought to have introduced wheat and the vine to mankind, and also saw wheat grains as having been formed from his body.

The notion of wheat being divinely provided for Adam is also found in Islamic sources (G. Weil, *Legends*, pp. 31, 45. See also M. Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, *Making*, pp. 34, 37; cf. A. I. A. I. M. I. I. al-Tha'labi, *Lives*, pp. 63-65; B. M. Wheeler, *Prophets*, pp. 27-28). In addition, the Sumerian text *Ewe and Wheat* recounts how wool and wheat were divinely provided in primeval times: "The people in those distant days, They knew not bread to eat; They knew not cloth to wear; They went about with naked limbs in the Land, And like sheep they ate grass with their mouth... Then Enki spoke to Enlil: 'Father Enlil, Ewe and Wheat... Let us now send them down from the Holy Hill'" (R. J. Clifford, *Ewe*, 20-24, 37-38, 40, pp. 45-46).

Linking the situations of Adam and Nebuchadnezzar to that of each penitent Christian, Ephrem the Syrian wrote that "only when [Nebuchadnezzar] repented did he return to his former abode and kingship. Blessed is He who has thus taught us to repent so that we too may return to Paradise" (Ephrem the Syrian, *Paradise*, 13:6, p. 171). The bread promised to Adam on conditions of repentance and baptism by water can be seen as a type of Christ, the "bread of life" (John 6:35). Christ's advent was, of course, preceded by John, dressed in the rough clothes of a penitent, eating what he could find in the wild, and baptizing "unto repentance" (Matthew 3:11. See T. G. Madsen, *Sacrament*, p. 85).

1020 Alma 32:12.

1021 Moses 5:1, 3. "Tilling the earth" is a frequent theme in the Book of Mormon. Indeed, 2 Nephi 2:19 and Alma 42:2 specifically state that Adam and Eve were driven out of the Garden of Eden to till the earth. The linking of the themes of obedience and the tilling of the earth is found in Mosiah 6:6-7, and tilling is followed by a mention of children in 2 Nephi 2:19-20 and Ether 6:13-16. Tilling as part of settling a new land can be seen in 1 Nephi 18:24, Enos 1:21, and Ether 6:13, and the making of tools to till the earth is mentioned in Ether 10:25.

1022 Moses 5:1.

1023 Moses 3:15.

1024 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 28.

1025 C. Westermann, *Genesis* 1-11, p. 267.

1026 Moses 5:10.

1027 Wherefore, seek not the things of this world, but seek ye first to build up the kingdom of God, and to establish his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you (JST Matthew 6:38).

1028 Matthew 6:31.

1029 H. W. Nibley, *Work*, p. 210.

1030 D&C 93:25.

1031 1031 JST Matthew 6:38. Note, of course, that our true temporal needs are meant to be very simple. As Nibley explains:

“Having food and raiment,” says Paul to Timothy, “let us be therewith content” (1 Timothy 6:8). We must have sufficient for our needs in life’s journey, but to go after more is forbidden, though you have your God-given free agency to do so. “Our real wants are very limited,” says Brigham; “When you have what you wish to eat and sufficient clothing to make you comfortable you have all that you need; I have all that I need” (JD, JD, 13:302). How many people need to eat two lunches a day? We all eat too much, wear too much, and work too much. Brigham says if we all “work less, wear less, eat less, ...we shall be a great deal wiser, healthier, and wealthier people than by taking the course we now do” (ibid., 12:122). (H. W. Nibley, *Work*, p. 235)

1032 H. W. Nibley, *Gifts*, pp. 91, 101-102, 104-105.

1033 D&C 6:7.

1034 See Matthew 6:19-20.

1035 See Matthew 13:22.

1036 See Matthew 6:24.

1037 See Matthew 19:23-26.

1038 See Matthew 22:2-14.

1039 C. S. Lewis, *Three Kinds*, p. 21.

1040 Matthew 22:21.

1041 Luke 14:33.

1042 C. S. Lewis, *Three Kinds*, p. 21.

1043 M. Muggeridge, *Jesus*. See Matthew 22:21.

1044 Philippians 1:21.

1045 Cf. U. Cassuto, *Adam to Noah*, p. 174. See also D. I. Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, p. 113; G. K. Beale, *Temple*, p. 70; T. D. Alexander, *From Eden*, pp. 26-27.

1046 D&C 130:18-19. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 597-599.

1047 Wyatt observes that the idea of sanctified man returning to Eden to till the sacred Garden and symbolism relating to royal marriage in literature from the ancient Near East provides a deeper meaning in “the curious mistake of Mary Magdalene in John 20:15. There is in fact a rather nice irony, and no mistake at all, that she should see in the risen Jesus the gardener. By his passion He has undone the work of the first Adam, and the interrupted task of tending the garden may now be

resumed" (N. Wyatt, *When Adam*, p. 59). See also his extended discussion of these motifs in *N. Wyatt, Supposing*.

1048 Moses 4:31.

1049 W. G. Braude, *Midrash on Psalms*, 90:12, 2:94.

1050 G. B. Eden, *Mystical Architecture*, pp. 16, 17 n. 7.

1051 See, e.g., the layout of the Salt Lake Temple as described in J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, pp. 118-134. 3 *Enoch* relates that the "first man and his generation dwelt at the gate of the Garden of Eden so that they might gaze at the bright image of the *Shekhinah*" (P. Alexander, 3 *Enoch*, 5:3, p. 259). "The entrance to the Garden therefore symbolizes the human possibility of reaching a privileged vantage point from which a higher knowledge may be obtained" (G. B. Eden, *Mystical Architecture*, p. 18).

1052 S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:59, p. 83. See also Moses 7:41; H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, pp. 56-60; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Temple Prayer*, pp. 81-88; M. von Wellnitz, *Liturgy*, p. 31.

1053 H. W. Nibley, *Temples Everywhere*, p. 14.

1054 Commenting on the *orans* gesture, Emminghaus writes (J. H. Emminghaus, *Eucharist*, p. 133):

From the point of view of religious history, the lifting of the hands... is an expressive gesture of prayer to the "gods above" [see R. H. Wilkinson, *Art*, pp. 28-29 for a discussion of the gesture in Egyptian worship] ... General anthropology has... shown us that among all peoples, the offering and showing of the open palms, which therefore cannot hold weapons or anything dangerous, is a sign of peaceful intent... Thus open hands uplifted are a universal gesture of peace, confidence, and petition; in contrast, a clenched fist means threat and challenge to battle. In the Old Testament, lifting the hands to God (e.g., Exodus 9:29, 33; Psalm 28:2, 63:5, 88:10), or toward the Temple (e.g., 1 Kings 8:38) was a universal custom. This Jewish gesture of prayer was apparently adopted by Christians for private as well as communal prayer. Tertullian refers to it (see Tertullian, *Prayer*, 14, p. 685): The Jews, because of their feelings of guilt, do not dare to lift their hands to Christ. "But we not only lift them, but even extend them, imitating the Lord's passion, as we also confess Christ in prayer." The oldest depiction of the crucifixion of Christ (still very muted, because otherwise so scandalous to Romans), on the wooden portals of Santa Sabina on the Aventine in Rome (6th c.) shows the crucified Lord with slightly bent arms and open, nailed hands, but without an express depiction of the cross—almost as if he were standing in front of the framework of a house. This is precisely the form of the *orans* posture as Tertullian pictures it: In the Christians who are praying in this way, the Father

also sees the dying son on the cross. Naturally, this interpretation of the *orans* posture is secondary and allegorizing, but it is still interesting and revealing.

1055 Explains Hassett (M. M. Hassett, *Orans*, p. 269):

Numerous biblical figures, for instance, depicted in the catacombs — Noah, Abraham, Isaac, the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, Daniel in the lions' den—are pictured asking the Lord to deliver the soul of the person on whose tombs they are depicted as He once delivered the particular personage represented. But besides these biblical *Orans* figures there exist in the catacombs many ideal figures (153 in all) in the ancient attitude of prayer, which, according to Wilpert, are to be regarded as symbols of the deceased's soul in heaven, praying for its friends on earth. This symbolic meaning accounts for the fact that the great majority of the figures are female, even when depicted on the tombs of men. One of the most convincing proofs that the *Orans* was regarded as a symbol of the soul is an ancient lead medal in the Vatican Museum showing the martyr, St. Lawrence, under torture, while his soul, in the form of a female *Orans*, is just leaving the body.

1056 Psalm 24:3-4; cf. 1 Timothy 2:8; D&C 109:19; S. A. Ashraf, *Inner*, p. 125.

1057 J. A. Tvedtnes, *Temple Prayer*, p. 84; Cf. Claudius in *Hamlet*: "My words fly up, my thoughts remain below. / Words without thoughts never to heaven go" (W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 3:3:101-102, p. 1167).

1058 D. W. Parry, *Psalm 24*, p. 61 n. 9.

1059 D. A. Bednar, *Clean Hands*, pp. 82-83.

1060 D. W. Parry, *Psalm 24*, p. 60.

1061 *Philippians* 3:10.

1062 Cited in J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, p. 55 n. 29. See *Mosiah* 13:27-35.

1063 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 609-610. See also H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, pp. 59-60.

1064 N. A. Maxwell, *Deny*.

1065 W. Clayton, *Chronicle*, 15 June 1844, p. 134.

1066 H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, pp. 57-58. See S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:5, p. 6.

1067 E. Hennecke *et al.*, *NT Apocrypha*, 2:493 n. 2; cf. G. Scholem, *Trends*, p. 62: "original and... bizarre phrases and word combinations.... regarded as the original language of the creature addressing its Creator."

1068 M. R. James, *Bartholomew*, p. 171.

1069 H. W. Nibley, *Unrolling*, p. 164. See also C. Schmidt, *Pistis*, 4:136, p. 707; G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis*, 5:136, pp. 295-296; H. W. Nibley, *Apocryphal*, pp. 306-307, 313-314; H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, pp. 56-58.

1070 H. W. Nibley, *House of Glory*, p. 339.

1071 D&C 109:78-79.

1072 H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, p. 57.

1073 I.e., Yahweh-El = Jehovah (M. Barker, *Gate*, p. 153; H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, p. 57).

1074 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 17:13, 20, p. 697.

1075 “May the words of my mouth be acceptable” (L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:91); cf. Psalm 54:2: “Hear my prayer, O God; give ear to the words of my mouth.”

1076 Cf. Moses 5:6: “many days.”

1077 L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:92; cf. S. Savedow, *Rezial*, p. 6.

1078 To Bathsheba W. Smith, *Juvenile Instructor*, 27, 1 June 1892, p. 345, cited T. G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith*, p. 99. Cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 28 April 1842, p. 226.

1079 For more comprehensive overviews of the veiling of women in antiquity, see S. D. Ricks *et al.*, *With Her Gauzy Veil*; K. van der Toorn, *Significance of the Veil*

1080 See S. Ruden, *Paul*, p. 73.

1081 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

1082 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

1083 L. H. Wilson, *Unveiling*.

1084 See, e.g., D. M. Gurtner, *Torn Veil*, pp. 70-71, who concluded that the implicit and explicit function of the veil as described in the Old Testament “was to effect *separation between the most holy and the less holy*. This is a structural feature based on a theological necessity. Moreover, this separation was executed by means of the veil’s *prohibiting physical and visual accessibility to the God enthroned in the holy of holies*. Finally, this prohibition is *depicted graphically by the presence of cherubim woven into the veil*, which resonates with the guardian function they serve in Genesis 3:24, where inaccessibility to the presence of God is first seen in biblical tradition.”

1085 See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 100, 148.

1086 1 John 3:2; cf. Moses 2:26: “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” Early Christians saw mankind’s “image” as the similarity to God they were automatically granted through their physical creation, and their “likeness” as that resemblance which could be acquired only by the correct exercise of free will (see, e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, *On the Origin of Man*, cited in A. Louth *et al.*, *Genesis* 1-11, p. 33; Diadochus of Photice, *On Spiritual Perfection*, 4, cited in *ibid.*, p. 30).

1087 1 John 3:3.

1088 A. F. Segal, Paul, p. 152. Wrote President David O. McKay:

Every person who lives in this world radiates light, which affects and influences every other person in the world. Our choices in life determine what we really are. The radiance of the light that emanates from our countenance is determined by the choices we make, and is a powerful force in human relationships. And every person is the recipient of that radiation. The Savior was conscious of that reality; and to a degree so are we.

Whenever Jesus came into the presence of an individual He was conscious of a light emanating from that person's soul, and which was mirrored in his countenance. He knew the behavior and conduct, and the choices a person had made because that behavior and those choices were reflected by the radiating light in one's countenance. My dear brothers and sisters, we must make nobler choices. We must not encourage vile thoughts or low aspirations. We shall radiate them if we do. Every moment of life we are affecting, to a degree, the life of every other person with whom we may come in contact, and who comes within the sphere of our influence.

Every person is affecting every other person who lives. We cannot for one moment escape this emanation, this radiation of light that emanates from our countenance. Life is a constant state of radiation and absorption of light. To exist is to radiate light; to exist is to be the recipient of light. And we choose the qualities we permit to be radiated by the light within us, determined by our behavior, and by the choices we make. (BYU Devotional, 1947).

1089 2 Corinthians 3:18, Segal's translation.

1090 2 Corinthians 3:13-18.

1091 Exodus 34:29.

1092 Exodus 34:33.

1093 Exodus 34:34.

1094 G. K. Beale *et al.*, NT Use of the OT, 1 Corinthians 11:4-5, p. 732. Strengthening the analogy to Moses' glorification, Wilson notes: "Paul's word 'covered / *akatakaluptos*' refers to something hanging 'down from' the face" (L. H. Wilson, Unveiling), not merely a head covering.

1095 1 Corinthians 11:2.

1096 L. H. Wilson, Unveiling.

1097 J. Smith, Jr., Words, pp. 9-10, cf. pp. 42, 110, 210, 327-331. "Some of the church in Paul's day had come into the presence of God and an innumerable company of angels and to the spirits of just men made perfect" (J. Smith, Jr., Documentary

History, 2:197).

1098 C. R. A. Morray-Jones, *Body*, p. 503.

1099 D. Blumenthal, *Merkabah*, p. 147.

1100 K. L. Barney, NT Footnotes, 1 Corinthians 11:11, 2:293 n. f.

1101 1 Corinthians 11:11.

1102 G. K. Beale *et al.*, NT Use of the OT, 1 Corinthians 11:7, p. 733.

1103 Indeed, without the least qualification, the First Presidency of Heber J. Grant, J. Reuben Clark, and David O. McKay expressed woman's position as follows: "The true spirit of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints gives to woman the highest place of honor in human life" (J. R. Clark, *Messages*, 6:5).

Although Jewish and Christian accounts of heavenly ascent often limit access to holy places to men, Rowland notes that Paul's epistles were addressed to women as well, and sees:

... the transfer of cultic imagery to a community which was inclusive [as] a reminder that ritual impurity does not seem to have been a disqualification from access to the nascent Pauline Christian communities and their communion with the heavenly world (though later we know that menstruation could be a bar on women being baptized)... There is no sense of disqualification here... This may also explain the enigmatic reference to the angels in 1 Corinthians 11:10. There are several passages from apocalyptic texts where humans are refused admission into the presence of God by angels. According to Paul, *all* those sanctified (1 Corinthians 6:11), women (and children?) as well as men, can expect to understand the mystery through the indwelling Spirit which enables the believer to probe the profound things of God (1 Corinthians 2:10). This meant becoming part of the temple of God (1 Corinthians 3:16, 6:19). In such circumstances, women who might find themselves otherwise disqualified needed some kind of [sign of authority or power] to indicate their right to be in the divine presence (1 Corinthians 11:10), much as those who accompanied the Lamb had the name of God on their foreheads (Revelation 14:1). Such [a sign of authority or power] equipped women to be part of the assembly which, like the Qumran community, shared the lot of the angels in light (Colossians 1:12f.; cf. 1QH 11:20f.; 1QS 19:6ff.). (C. Rowland, *Things*, pp. 144-145).

Note that early Christians, when they gathered to "lift up [their] hearts to heaven," were reminded that God Himself (with the angels and mortals) would be an "onlooker" to their proceedings (J. Cooper *et al.*, *Testament*, 1:23, p. 71).

1104 1 Corinthians 11:10.

1105 D&C 131:1-4. See also J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 519-523.

1106 K. L. Barney, NT Footnotes, 1 Corinthians 11:12, 2:293-294 n. g.

1107 Cyril of Jerusalem, First Catechetical, Protocatechesis, 9, p. 3. Thanks to Bryce Haymond for pointing out this reference.

1108 D. H. Oaks, Keys and Authority.

1109 2 Corinthians 3:18, Segal's translation.

1110 1 John 3:2.

1111 1 Corinthians 11:10.

1112 1 Corinthians 11:5-6.

1113 N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 26; Exodus 20:26; 28:42-43. Cf. S. D. Ricks *et al.*, With Her Gauzy Veil, p. 350, who argue that the veils of Israelite sanctuaries "were intended not so much to obscure as to shield the most sacred things from the eyes of sinful men, which purpose would also make sense in the veiling of women." Making a similar comparison with respect to Egyptian mythology, they write (*ibid.*, p. 352):

It is significant that face veiling of women, not generally practiced in ancient Egypt, is mentioned by the Greek writer Plutarch (whose contemporary Hellenic society may not have engaged in veiling, but whose culture historically did) in his *Isis and Osiris*: "In Sais the image of Athena, which one also sees as Isis, contains the following inscription: 'I am the cosmos, the past, present, and future, no mortal has yet lifted my veil'" (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 9). "Throughout the ancient world," observes Hugh Nibley, "the veil of the temple is the barrier between ourselves and both the hidden mysteries of the temple and the boundless expanses of cosmic space beyond. An example of the former is 'the veil of Isis,' which no man has lifted" (H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, pp. 376-377).

1114 L. H. Wilson, Unveiling.

1115 J. A. Tvedtnes, Rituals; cf. B. K. Packer, Personal Revelation, p. 59; W. Clayton, Chronicle, 15 June 1844, p. 134.

1116 See Ephesians 5:22-33. "Paul's real object in Ephesians 5:22-33 was to demonstrate the fact that Christ's marriage to the Church and human marriages follow *the same heavenly pattern*, and are subject to the same rules of behavior" (J. E. Seaich, *Mystery*, p. 130). Seaich also notes the "special use of the verb *paristēmi* ('present') in Ephesians 5:27, when he speaks of Christ 'cleansing' the bride, so that he might 'present her to himself a glorious Church, without spot. Several passages from Paul's other epistles (Colossians 1:21-22; 2 Corinthians 11:2) precede the mystery of union with the same verb, combined with similar adjectives of purity and holiness.... Israelite law especially required that the bride be without 'spot' or 'blemish' (*amomos*, Ephesians 5:27); *mosmos ouk estin en soi*; LXX Song of Songs 4:7), for such an imperfection would preclude the possibility of even *approaching* the veil or the altar (Leviticus 21:23; *m. Ketuboth*, 7:7). Thus Ephesians 1:4 informs us that the Church was preexistently destined to be made 'holy and spotless' (*amomos*) as a prerequisite

for union with her Bridegroom. This requirement is especially important, because it shows that purification traditionally *preceded* the nuptial mystery, and was originally separate from it” (ibid., pp. 131-132).

1117 Isaiah 40:5.

1118 Ephesians 5:27.

1119 Ephesians 5:25.

1120 S. W. Hahn, *World as Wedding*, p. 12.

1121 The word “revelation” equates to “apocalypse,” from the Greek word *apokalypsis*, which means “unveiling.”

1122 See Revelation 19:9, 21:9, 22:17.

1123 Revelation 21:2.

1124 Revelation 21:16-18.

1125 See Exodus 28:2.

1126 Revelation 21:1.

1127 C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, pp. 2-3.

1128 J. C. Reeves, *Flowing Stream*.

1129 JS-Matthew 1:41.

1130 G. A. Anderson, *Perfection*, p. 8.

1131 H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 19, p. 231.

1132 T. Piazza, *Devil*.

1133 S. V. Benét, *Author*.

1134 H. W. Nibley, *Dominion*, pp. 13-14.

1135 M. J. B. bin Gorion *et al.*, *Mimekor*, 13, 1:24; J. Neusner, *Genesis Rabbah* 2, 36:3, p. 29.

1136 D. C. Allison, *Testament*, 16:6-10, pp. 319, 328-331; L. Ginzberg, *Legends*, 1:270-272; E. P. Sanders, *Testament of Abraham*, 16:6-10, p. 892; cf. M. J. B. bin Gorion *et al.*, *Mimekor*, 22, 1:58-59.

Islamic sources also associate a deceitful appearance of Satan with the act of sacrifice. As part of the *hajj*, pilgrims go to Mina “to throw stones at Satan and to sacrifice some animal in the Name of God.” The explanation of this ritual is that “Satan tried to deceive Abraham and Ishmael, but they realized who he was and threw stones at him” (S. A. Ashraf, *Inner*, p. 122). Note that Muslims generally see Ishmael rather than Isaac as the son who Abraham was commanded to sacrifice (see Genesis 22 and *Qur’an* 37:102).

In Egyptian literature, this same character appears as the “false Horus” “preserved in Spell 312 of the *Coffin Texts* (R. O. Faulkner, *Coffin*, pp. 229-233) and the 78th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*” (R. O. Faulkner *et al.*, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 74-78):

The scene opens with the King as Osiris lying helpless on the lion couch, calling upon the Most High God to deliver him from his plight; in reply to his prayer a Messenger (angel) appears in the form of a hawk [see book of Abraham Facsimile 1] and offers to save him; but the messenger has neither the power nor the authority—he must go up to heaven to get the proper authorization from the Lord of All. While he is away a false Horus—a comic character according to some—appears and boasts of his power and glory, offering to deliver the victim on the couch. A few questions dealing with the mysteries of the veil soon expose him as an ignoramus and a fraud, and the real Horus appears, while a voice from heaven attests his *bona fides*, and the hero on the bed is delivered. (H. W. Nibley, *The Three Facsimiles from the Book of Abraham*, p. 4. See also H. W. Nibley, *New Look*, August 1969, pp. 76-80; H. W. Nibley, *Approach to Abraham*, pp. 279-287; H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 136-138).

1137 Moses 1:12-19; Luke 4:7.

1138 K. Kohler, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 7, 1895, p. 589; see also D. C. Allison, *Testament*, 16:5, pp. 319, 328; E. P. Sanders, *Testament of Abraham*, 16:5, p. 892.

1139 G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*, 33-34.1-35-37.1, p. 6E.

1140 B. Young, *BY* 31 July 1864, p. 320.

1141 See references in H. W. Nibley, *Since*, pp. 460-461.

1142 Cf. R. A. Kraft, *Job*, 23:3b, p. 45: “Pay the price and take what you want.” See also *ibid.*, 6-7, pp. 27-29; H. W. Nibley, *Prayer Circle*, p. 63; H. W. Nibley, *Consecration*, p. 439.

1143 Cf. J. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1:261, p. 22.

1144 G. A. Anderson *et al.*, *Synopsis*.

1145 E.g., E. A. W. Budge, *Cave*; S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*.

1146 S. E. Robinson, *Book of Adam*, p. 142; see also B. T. Ostler, *Clothed*, p. 6.

1147 D&C 10:21.

1148 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 5 October 1840, p. 41.

1149 *Ibid.*, 5 October 1840, p. 40.

1150 D&C 76:32-35.

1151 See D&C 76:26; Moses 5:23-24.

1152 Moses 5:31.

- 1153 Moses 5:49-50.
- 1154 H. W. Nibley, *Foundation*, pp. 165-166.
- 1155 2 Nephi 2:4-5.
- 1156 Genesis 18.
- 1157 L. Ouspensky *et al.*, *Icons*, p. 200. See also G. Bunge, *Rublev Trinity*, pp. 45-57.
- 1158 A. L. Gaskill, *Lost*, p. 302. See also *ibid.*, pp. 303-306. Cf. Nibley: "When Peter spoke to Adam, which Peter was it? The Peter of Adam's day? No, the timeless Peter" (H. W. Nibley, *Consecration*, p. 439).
- 1159 The Holy Trinity, The Holy Trinity.
- 1160 L. Ouspensky *et al.*, *Icons*, p. 202.
- 1161 Cf. J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, p. 573.
- 1162 W. Williams, *Shadow*.
- 1163 L. Ouspensky *et al.*, *Icons*, p. 202.
- 1164 D&C 84:33.
- 1165 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 7 April 1844, p. 354.
- 1166 S. E. Robinson, *Testament of Adam*, 3:2-3, pp. 97, 99; cf. M. D. Gibson, *Rolls* 2006, p. 117; E. P. Sanders, *Testament of Abraham*, 3:2-3, p. 994.
- 1167 E.g., JST Genesis 9:21-23, 13:13; JST Deuteronomy 10:2; cf. D&C 49:9, 66:2, 88:133.
- 1168 *Gospel Principles*, *Gospel Principles*, p. 98. See Jeremiah 31:31-34; Ezekiel 37:26.
- 1169 C. C. Riddle, *New*, p. 228.
- 1170 B. R. McConkie, *New Witness*, p. 293.
- 1171 Moses 6:64-65.
- 1172 D&C 20:37, 59:9-12.
- 1173 Moses 5:5-9.
- 1174 D&C 59:8-14.
- 1175 B. R. McConkie, *New Witness*, p. 293.
- 1176 John 3:5.
- 1177 2 Nephi 31:17-18.
- 1178 E. T. Benson, *Teachings* 1988, p. 337; B. C. Hafen, *Disciple's Journey*, pp. 292-301.
- 1179 2 Nephi 31:19-20; cf. Jacob 6:11.

-
- 1180 J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 2 July 1839, p. 162; cf. D&C 84:19-22.
- 1181 S. W. Kimball, Potential; B. Young, 24 August 1872, pp. 136-139.
- 1182 J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 4 May 1842, p. 237.
- 1183 D&C 84:33-48. See J. M. Bradshaw, Temple Themes in the Oath.
- 1184 D&C 84:43.
- 1185 D&C 84:44.
- 1186 B. R. McConkie, New Witness, pp. 312-313; see D&C 132:19-24.
- 1187 D&C 84:38.
- 1188 D&C 84:47-48; cf. John 14:16, 23; D&C 88:3-4, 130:3; J. Smith, Jr., Documentary History, 27 June 1839, 3:381.
- 1189 Moses 5:6.
- 1190 D&C 50:24.
- 1191 H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, 19, p. 234.
- 1192 E. Kren *et al.*, Ghent.
- 1193 Jude 1:11.
- 1194 H. W. Nibley, Prophetic, p. 462. See also J. W. Welch, Sermon, pp. 47, 75; J. W. Welch, Light, pp. 173-174, 187, 218.
- 1195 H. W. Nibley, Liberty, pp. 184-185; cf. H. W. Nibley, Consecration, p. 435.
- 1196 J. Smith, Jr., Teachings, 5 October 1840, pp. 166-173.
- 1197 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, pp. 14-18, 27-31, 557-560, 658-701. Hugh Nibley has also written extensively on this topic (e.g., H. W. Nibley, Sacred, *passim*).
- 1198 See Moses 5:16, 17, 23, 57. See also J. M. Bradshaw, LDS Book of Enoch.
- 1199 E. T. Benson, Vision. Since, at baptism, we promise to keep God's commandments, each of these covenants is implicitly part of this first essential ordinance. Though endowed Latter-day Saints agree to keep certain things they learn in the temple confidential, the temple covenants themselves are not among those things. To those who have been asked the questions necessary to obtain a temple recommend, there will be no surprise about the specific commitments one is asked to make in the temple. Besides the statements by President Benson cited in this chapter, other summaries of the temple covenants by General Authorities can be found in J. E. Faust, Who Shall Ascend, p. 4; B. R. McConkie, Obedience; G. B. Hinckley, Teachings 1997, 10 April 1996, p. 147; J. E. Talmage, House of the Lord, p. 55; B. K. Packer, Holy Temple, p. 163; R. D. Hales, Return, pp. 4-5.
- 1200 D&C 88:21.

1201 D&C 88:22.

1202 D&C 88:21.

1203 D&C 88:34-35.

1204 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 543. See Deuteronomy 7:6.

1205 J. E. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, p. 54.

1206 M. J. Johnson, *The lost prologue: Moses chapter one and the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible as ancient text*, pp. 23-24.

1207 J. W. Welch, *Temple in the Book of Mormon*, p. 373; 3 Nephi 13:1, 20, 24. For more extensive discussions see J. W. Welch, *Sermon*; J. W. Welch, *Light*.

1208 D. N. Freedman, *Nine* 2001, p. 1. For a full exposition of his arguments, see D. N. Freedman, *Nine* 2000.

1209 Moses 7:69.

1210 Moses 8:30. In the book of Moses, Enoch's people are translated, so that they will never taste of mortal death, but nowhere is it explicitly asserted that they received eternal life and exaltation at that time, in the full sense of D&C 132:29 and Moses 1:39. Of course, the endless life of Enoch's people and the untimely death of the wicked in the Flood prefigure the ultimate fates of eternal life or spiritual death for the most righteous and most wicked of God's children.

1211 B. R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, p. 539. See also H. B. Eyring, Jr., *Be One*, pp. 67-68.

1212 H. W. Nibley, *Zeal*, p. 66.

1213 S. C. Malan, *Adam and Eve*, 1:3:7, p. 4, brackets in original. Regarding these "second commandments," see Alma 12:37.

1214 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 649-650.

1215 Moses 5:1; cf. Mosiah 6:6-7.

1216 Moses 5:2.

1217 Moses 5:5-6.

1218 Moses 5:13. The word "carnal," from a Latin root meaning "flesh," is closely associated in scripture with the terms "natural" (e.g. D&C 29:35), "temporal" (e.g., Alma 36:4), and "earthly" (e.g., James 3:15). It represents the condition of estrangement from spiritual things experienced by individuals in their fallen, mortal, and corrupt state before they are born again (e.g., Romans 8:6; 2 Nephi 9:39; Mosiah 3:19, 7:24-25; Alma 22:13, 41:13; D&C 67:10-13; B. R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, pp. 113, 195, 267-268, 702). The "sensual" man or woman is one who privileges the satisfaction of bodily appetites and passions. Such a person becomes "devilish" when "he... persists in his own carnal nature, and goes on in the ways of sin and rebellion

against God, remaineth in his fallen state and the devil hath all power over him... being an enemy to God; [as] the devil [is] an enemy to God" (Mosiah 16:5; cf. Mosiah 3:19). Nibley alternately renders the phrase as "lecherous, pampered, and vicious" (H. W. Nibley, *Assembly*, p. 129).

This oft-cited triplet appears to be one of the many stock, fixed distinctive combinations of words "which belonged to the literary tradition of Israel and Canaan, and poets [and prophets], specially trained in their craft, drew on this stock to aid in the... composition of parallel lines.... [These combinations were, figuratively speaking, part of] the poets' dictionary, as it has been called" (Berlin, cited in J. T. Duke, *Pairs*, p. 33. See also K. L. Barney, *Poetic*; J. A. Tvedtnes, *Word Groups*). Though its equivalent appears only once in the Bible (James 3:15), a combination of these terms in pairs or triplets occurs several times in LDS scripture (Mosiah 16:3; Alma 41:13, 42:10; D&C 20:20, 29:35; Moses 5:13, 6:49).

1219 Mosiah 16:3; Alma 42:10

1220 Mosiah 16:5, 3.

1221 2 Nephi 2:26.

1222 Deuteronomy 12:6.

1223 D. O. McKay, *Cherished*, p. 19; see also D. O. McKay, *Treasures*, pp. 275-278.

1224 L. E. Dahl *et al.*, *Lectures*, 6:7, p. 93.

1225 Alma 12:28-30.

1226 Moses 5:7.

1227 H. L. Andrus, *Doctrinal*, p. 387.

1228 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 5 October 1840, p. 169.

1229 *Ibid.*, 22 January 1834, p. 58.

1230 *Ibid.*, 22 January 1834, p. 58.

1231 Alma 34:14.

1232 D&C 59:8. See also Alma 34:13-14; 3 Nephi 9:19-20; J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 609-610.

1233 E. T. Benson, *Teachings* 1988, p. 337.

1234 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 34.

1235 D&C 88:121.

1236 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 34.

1237 H. W. Nibley, *Drama*, p. 36.

1238 See R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, pp. 483-485.

1239 See 2 Samuel 12.

1240 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, pp. 553-554.

1241 Note that the term “Gospel” is mentioned in only two places in the book of Moses: in 5:58–59, just preceding the description of the righteous family line of Adam in chapter 6; and, on the other hand, in 8:19, just prior to Noah’s encounter with the self-designated “sons of God” who were involved in marriages outside the covenant.

1242 D&C 29:42; Moses 5:7-8, 58.

1243 Moses 5:12.

1244 Moses 5:9.

1245 Moses 6:64.

1246 Moses 5:6-8.

1247 Moses 5:58; cf. 6:52-64.

1248 Moses 6:67-68.

1249 Moses 5:59.

1250 Moses 5:55.

1251 Moses 5:51.

1252 Moses 6:15.

1253 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 34.

1254 H. W. Nibley, *Drama*, pp. 36-37.

1255 Cf. D&C 42:22-24.

1256 3 Nephi 12:31-32.

1257 J. W. Welch, *Sermon*, pp. 52-53.

1258 Moses 6:7; see also D&C 107:40-41, Abraham 1:26.

1259 Moses 6:10.

1260 Moses 6:9, 22.

1261 Moses 6:23.

1262 M. E. Stone, *Question*, 5, p. 119, 8, p. 121.

1263 Moses 8:15. A similar phrase occurs in 2 Kings 17:17, where the Israelites are accused of having “sold themselves to do evil in the sight of the Lord.” (Cf. 1 Kings 21:20.) The Hebrew term *wayyitmakkeru* is used here in the sense of selling oneself into slavery. Compare the Qumran *Book of the Giants* where the *gibborim* are condemned for their “prostitution in the land” (F. G. Martinez, *Book of Giants* (4Q203), 8:6-9, p. 260}).

-
- 1264 H. W. Nibley, *Enoch*, p. 180.
- 1265 Moses 8:21. Satan made the same duplicitous self-assertion as these men in Moses 5:13, saying: "I am also a son of God."
- 1266 Moses 8:14.
- 1267 C. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, p. 364.
- 1268 *Ibid.*, p. 371. Cf. Moses 3:22-24. Leon Kass notes: "It would be characteristic of heroes (like Cain's Lamech) to find and seize the beautiful daughters, almost as trophies." (L. R. Kass, *Wisdom*, p. 157)
- 1269 R. Alter, *Five Books*, p. 28 n. 2 comely. See Moses 4:12.
- 1270 *Ibid.*, p. 24.
- 1271 N. M. Sarna, *Genesis*, p. 25.
- 1272 R. D. Draper *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 168.
- 1273 Matthew 24:37-39.
- 1274 F. D. Bruner, *Matthew 13-28*, p. 524.
- 1275 E. T. Benson, *Teachings* 1988, p. 121; cf. G. B. Hinckley, *Teachings* 1997, p. 147; H. B. Lee, *Teachings* 1996, p. 318.
- 1276 E. T. Benson, *Teachings* 1988, p. 121 and D&C 78:7.
- 1277 H. W. Nibley, *Foundation*, p. 168.
- 1278 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 34.
- 1279 H. B. Lee, *Teachings* 1996, p. 318.
- 1280 J. W. Welch, *Sermon*, pp. 60-61.
- 1281 D&C 97:21.
- 1282 Moses 7:19.
- 1283 Moses 7:18.
- 1284 4 Nephi 1:2-4; cf. H. W. Nibley, *Weep*, p. 372.
- 1285 J. R. Clark, Jr., *Evening*, p. 55.
- 1286 Moses 7:18.
- 1287 Moses 5:49, 51. In describing the motive for Lamech's murder of his conspiratorial brother, Moses 5:50 shows how the sin of greed that impelled Cain's slaying of Abel was now taken to a whole new level: "Wherefore Lamech, being angry, slew him, not like unto Cain, his brother Abel, for the sake of getting gain, but he slew him for the oath's sake." For more discussion of this topic, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 395-399.

1288 Moses 6:15.

1289 V. P. Hamilton, Genesis 1-17, p. 278.

1290 N. M. Sarna, Genesis, p. 51. Cf. U. Cassuto, Noah to Abraham, pp. 52-53. Leon Kass graphically describes the scene: "Self-conscious men... betake themselves to war and to beautiful (but not good) women, seeking recognition for their superhuman prowess. Whether from rage over mortality, from jealousy and resentment, or from a desire to gain favor from beautiful women, or to avenge the stealing of their wives and daughters, proud men are moved to the love of glory, won in bloody battle with one another. The world erupts into violence, the war of each against all. What ensues is what [English philosopher Thomas] Hobbes would later call 'the state of nature,' that is, the state characterized by absence of clear juridical power and authority, in which the life of man is nasty, brutish, and — through violence — short. Bloody destruction covers the earth" (L. R. Kass, *Wisdom*, p. 162).

1291 Moses 7:27.

1292 B. Mika'el, *Mysteries*, p. 29; cf. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, 1 Enoch 1, 7:6, 9:2, 87:1, pp. 182, 202, 364; M. Wise *et al.*, DSS, 4Q203 Frag. 8:9, p. 294. See also D. C. Peterson, *Weeping God*; A. C. Skinner, *Vindicated*; J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *Revisiting*.

1293 Moses 7:32-33, 36-37.

1294 Moses 8:28, 30.

1295 J. Taylor, *Government*, p. 53; cf. P. P. Pratt, 10 April 1853, p. 259.

1296 Moses 7:69.

1297 2 Nephi 25:23.

1298 D. H. Oaks, *To Become*.

1299 D&C 97:21.

1300 Matthew 5:8, 3 Nephi 12:8, D&C 97:16; cf. D&C 58:18.

1301 D&C 88:68-69; cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 7 April 1844, p. 350.

1302 See 1 Corinthians 13:1-3; Moroni 7:44.

1303 H. W. Nibley, *Foundation*, p. 172.

1304 H. W. Nibley, *Perspectives*, p. 495.

1305 H. W. Nibley, *Since*, p. 347. See Moroni 8:17.

1306 H. W. Nibley, *Sacred*, p. 542.

1307 For a summary of the background of the JST and its relationship to the book of Moses, see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, pp. 1-9.

1308 I have argued for the possibility that the increased emphasis accorded to certain sections of the Bible in the translation effort could be seen as part of divine tutorial

for the Prophet on temple and priesthood matters, given early in his ministry (J. M. Bradshaw, *Freemasonry*).

1309 P. L. Barlow, *Bible* (2013), pp. 55-57.

1310 See, e.g., D&C 9:7-9.

1311 K. Flake, *Translating Time*, pp. 507-508; cf. G. Underwood, *Revelation*, pp. 76-81, 83-84. With respect to the Book of Mormon, scholars differ in their understanding about the degree to which the vocabulary and phrasing of Joseph Smith's translation was tightly controlled. However, there is a consensus among LDS scholars that at least some features of the plate text of the Book of Mormon survived translation (B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, pp. 150-152, 197-204). See more on this issue below.

1312 H. M. Smith *et al.*, *Commentary*, p. 350.

1313 Compare Gardner's analysis of Book of Mormon usage of the name/title "Jesus Christ" (B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, pp. 241-242). For more on this issue, see the discussion of Moses 6-7 below. Note that acceptance of the general primacy of conceptual rather than literal equivalence in translation undercuts one of the primary tools of the textual critic, i.e., vocabulary analysis (*ibid.*, pp. 233-239).

1314 E.g., R. E. Friedman, *Who*; R. E. Friedman, *Hidden*. For a recent LDS perspective on the Documentary Hypothesis and higher criticism in general, see D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*. For reviews of the book, see K. L. Barney, *Authoring*; J. M. Bradshaw, *Sorting*.

1315 R. E. Friedman, *Commentary*

1316 J. H. Sailhamer, *Genesis*, p. 5.

1317 The first volume in the series is D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*.

1318 D&C 88:118. The implication of scripture, however, is that learning spiritual matters from book study is ultimately a poor cousin to learning by faith — i.e., study "out of the best books" is only necessary because "all have not faith." Though himself a great advocate of schools for the teaching of practical subjects in Kirtland and Nauvoo, on matters of learning for the eternities Joseph Smith wanted the Saints to gain knowledge by direct revelation — to come to the point where they could throw away their crutches, take up their beds, and walk: "The best way to obtain truth and wisdom is not to ask it from books, but to go to God in prayer, and obtain divine teaching" (J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 3 October 1841, p. 191). Note that the original source for this quote actually reads "the *only* way" (J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, 3 October 1841, p. 77, emphasis added).

1319 E.g., 2 Nephi 25:8, 21-22; Jacob 1:3; Enos 1:15-16; Jarom 1:2; Mormon 7:1, 8:34-35.

1320 E.g., E. T. Benson, *Book of Mormon—Keystone*.

1321 J. Blenkinsopp, *The structure of P*, p. 284.

1322 *Ibid.*, p. 284.

1323 1 Nephi 19:23.

1324 E.g., 1 Nephi 4:2, 17:23-44. André LaCocque describes how the Bible “attributes to historical events (like the Exodus, for instance) a paradigmatic quality” (A. LaCocque, *Captivity of Innocence*, p. 71). “[A]ny conceptual framework which merely purports to reconstruct events ‘as they really were’ (Ranke),” writes Michael Fishbane, “is historicistic, and ignores the thrust of [the Bible’s] reality. For the Bible is more than history. It is a religious document which has transformed memories and records in accordance with various theological concerns” (M. A. Fishbane, *Sacred Center*, p. 6).

1325 Cf. B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, p. 295.

1326 J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 15 October 1843, p. 327. Cf. 1 Nephi 13:24-28. Of course, there are similar difficulties that have come into play in the textual, editing, and publishing history of the Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants (e.g., Section 27), a fact that should help us better understand the idea of a textual history described by source criticism for the Old Testament. As Ben McGuire explains: “Within the short history of our scripture we see numerous such changes (even with the existence of printing technology) that help us to understand that these changes occur quite naturally — and are not necessarily the results of translational issues or corrupt priests. We can, of course, completely identify the history of some of these changes, we can detail corruptions in the Book of Mormon that have occurred from the original manuscript. We can speculate about the existence of these errors where the original manuscript does not exist, and so on. And the fact that we can talk about [D&C] 27 as a composite work is itself another symptom of the process by which our texts come into existence in a way that doesn’t reflect a single author with a single pen, providing us with the perfect word of God” (B. L. McGuire, 17 March 2014).

1327 K. Schmid, *Genesis*, pp. 28-29. Cf. D. M. Carr, *Formation*, pp. 102-125.

1328 These included Lehi, Nephi, Moroni, and apparently others. See T. G. Hatch, *Visions*, pp. 129-131.

1329 These included, among others, the Old Testament figures of Adam, Noah, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Elias, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Elijah. New Testament figures included John the Baptist, Peter, James, John, Paul, Stephen, Philip, Matthew, James the Lesser, Matthias, Andrew, Mark, Jude, Bartholomew, Thomas, Luke, Simon, Barnabas, and others of the Apostles — and, of course, Jesus Christ Himself. See *ibid.*, pp. 135-155. For additional accounts of divine manifestations to the Prophet, see J. W. Welch *et al.*, *Opening*.

1330 J. H. Walton *et al.*, *Lost World of Scripture*, p. 304.

1331 Articles of Faith 1:8. In this connection, D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 131 cites the following from President Gordon B. Hinckley (G. B. Hinckley, *Great Things*, p. 81):

The Christian world accepts the Bible as the word of God. Most have no idea of how it came to us.

I have just completed reading a newly published book by a renowned scholar. It is apparent from information which he gives that the various books of the Bible were brought together in what appears to have been an unsystematic fashion. In some cases, the writings were not produced until long after the events they describe. One is led to ask, "Is the Bible true? Is it really the word of God?"

We reply that it is, insofar as it is translated correctly. The hand of the Lord was in its making.

1332 J. H. Walton *et al.*, *Lost World of Scripture*, pp. 68, 69.

1333 With respect to Genesis in particular, "it is fairly obvious that the book of Genesis serves as a kind of introduction or prologue to what follows in Exodus through Deuteronomy" (K. Schmid, *Genesis*, p. 29). "Nevertheless," continues Schmid in his highlighting of one prominent theme in the most recent thinking on the topic (*ibid.*, pp. 30, 32, 45), "the function of Genesis to the Pentateuch is apparently not exhausted by describing it as an introduction to the Moses story Genesis ... shows ... clear signs of having existed as a stand-alone literary unit for some portion of its literary growth. Genesis is a special book within the Pentateuch: it is the most self-sufficient one In current scholarship, it is no longer possible to explain the composition of the book of Genesis from the outset within the framework of the Documentary Hypothesis." For a broader survey of current research, see J. C. Gertz, *Formation*. For details of textual transmission and reception history of Genesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, see C. A. Evans *et al.*, *Book of Genesis*, pp. 303-632.

1334 E.g., K. van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture*; R. S. Hendel, *Historical Context*, pp. 73-84; D. M. Carr, *Formation*, pp. 4-7, 13-36. J. S. Thompson, 21 March 2014, however, qualifies this conclusion as follows: "While the Pentateuch does seem to have an anonymous narrator/editor who speaks of Moses and others in third person, the prophetic books have more first person narrative and autobiographical flavor that lends itself to the possibility of direct prophetic authorship."

1335 E.g., B. A. Gardner, *Literacy*. Of course, LDS scripture also emphasizes the important role of written scripture going back to the earliest times (e.g., Moses 6:5-8, 46).

1336 Note that valuable religious traditions are not confined to accounts from Abrahamic lands and faiths (see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, Endnote 0-36, p. 29).

As God pointedly told Nephi: “I shall also speak unto *all nations of the earth* and they shall write it” (2 Nephi 29:12, emphasis mine; cf. Alma 29:8, G. E. Jones, *Apocryphal*, pp. 28-29; cf. B. H. Roberts, *Defense*, 1:512; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*, 16 February 1832, pp. 10-11, 22 January 1834, p. 61). Considering this fact, it should not be at all surprising if genuinely revealed teachings, promulgated at one time but subsequently lost or distorted (see J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image 1*, Endnote 0-37, p. 29), may sometimes appear to have survived in heterodox strands of religious traditions the world over (see S. W. Kimball *et al.*, *God's Love*; S. J. Palmer, *Expanding*, p. v; O. F. Whitney, *Discourse* (April 1928), p. 59; *Diversity, Diversity*).

Robert F. Smith, <http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/sorting-out-the-sources-in-scripture/#comment-13917>, 6 March 2014 observes that “ancient Near Eastern creation stories generally differ in details, but agree in the broad schema — as Speiser shows in his Anchor Bible translation-commentary on Genesis (E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, pp. 9-13). The same is true of the various Flood and Tower stories... What would be truly odd would be the lack of divergent accounts.”

1337 In evaluating evidence of antiquity for traditions preserved in extracanonical literature, scholars must maintain the careful balance articulated by Nickelsburg: “One should not simply posit what is convenient with the claim that later texts reflected earlier tradition. At the same time, thoroughgoing skepticism is inconsonant with the facts as we know them and as new discoveries continue to reveal them: extant texts represent only a fragment of the written and oral tradition that once existed. Caution, honest scholarly tentativeness, and careful methodology remain the best approach to the data” (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Judaism*, pp. 25-26).

1338 For a discussion of the difficulties in teasing out, e.g., Jewish from Christian contributions to the pseudepigrapha, see R. A. Kraft, *Pseudepigrapha*.

1339 For example, Schwartz asserts that “a great many rabbinic myths, as found in the Midrashim, are not new creations of the rabbis, as might appear to be the case. Rather they are simply the writing down of an oral tradition that was kept alive by the people, when there was no need to suppress it any longer” (H. Schwartz, *Tree*, p. lxiv). Moreover, he points out that “the rabbinic texts themselves claim that these traditions are part of the Oral Torah, handed down by God to Moses at Mount Sinai, and are therefore considerably ancient” (*ibid.*, p. lxxxiv).

1340 For example, Reeves has concluded “that the Qur’an, along with the interpretive traditions available in Hadith, commentaries, antiquarian histories, and the collections of so-called ‘prophetic legends’ (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*), can shed a startling light on the structure and content of certain stories found in Bible and its associated literatures (such as *Pseudepigrapha* and *Midrash*). [Thus, the] Qur’an and other early Muslim biblically-allied traditions must be taken much more seriously as witnesses to ‘versions of Bible’ than has heretofore been the case” (J. C. Reeves, *Flowing Stream*; see also T. Khalidi, *Muslim Jesus*, pp. 7-9, 16-17). Wasserstrom refers to “arguments

to the effect that active reading of ‘biblical’ or ‘extrabiblical’ narratives by Muslims was an exercise which reflexively illuminates those ‘original’ sources” and cites Halperin’s argument that transmitters of these stories in the Islamic tradition “tended to make manifest what had been typically left latent in the Jewish version which they had received” (S. M. Wasserstrom, *Muslim Literature*, p. 100). For a discussion of the complex two-way relationship between Jewish pseudepigrapha and Muslim literature, see *ibid.* generally. For a specific discussion of Islamic sources and interpretation in Genesis, see C. Bakhos, *Genesis, The Qur’an*.

1341 For example, as Lipscomb observes, even some of the late medieval compositions that “do not derive directly from earliest Christianity” may be of “great importance ... in the antiquity of some of the traditions they contain, the uniqueness of some of their larger contribution to the development and understanding of Adam materials and of medieval Christianity” (W. L. Lipscomb, *Armenian*, pp. 1-6).

1342 See, e.g., J. L. Kugel, *Instances*, p. 156. Kugel observes: “To make sense of these [brief and sometimes] offhand references—indeed, even to identify them as containing exegetical motifs — it is necessary to read the text in question against the background of the whole body of ancient interpretations” (*ibid.*, p. 156).

1343 See, e.g., H. W. Nibley, *Myths*, p. 42.

1344 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*, pp. xvii-xviii.

1345 *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

1346 J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*.

1347 D. C. Jessee, *JS History*.

1348 E.g., J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings*; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings* 2007; J. Smith, Jr., *Teachings* 1997.

1349 J. Smith, Jr., *Words*.

1350 E.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *God’s Image* 1, pp. 643-644, 750.

1351 According to D. C. Jessee, *JS History*, p. 441, Joseph Smith and his scribes had only progressed to the date August 5, 1838 in the history by the time of the Prophet’s death.

1352 See D. A. Bednar, *Faithful Parents*, pp. 30-33. While Joseph Smith is not the direct author of most of the material in the volumes containing his teachings, I think he would be properly regarded as the authority behind them. More often than not, I do think his teachings are reasonably represented, even if the words are not exactly as spoken. In some cases, in fact, he could be regarded as the author, since some of the teachings in these books were taken from texts written directly by him or his scribes. On the other hand, of course, in a few cases pieces originally drafted in part by others appear under his name (e.g., J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 1 March 1842, 4:536-541, which draws in part from material in a pamphlet by Orson Pratt (see J.

Smith, Jr. *et al.*, *Histories*, 1832-1844, pp. 519-520) and J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 29 November 1843, 6:88-93, written by William W. Phelps with input from the Prophet (see R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, p. 512)).

1353 See Eusebius, *History*, 6:12, p. 190.

1354 J. H. Charlesworth, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. xxiv.

1355 For good summaries of the history of the usage of the term, see *ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv; R. Bauckham *et al.*, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, pp. xvii-xx. The trend in the application of the term “pseudepigrapha” to characterize ancient writings is tending to greater inclusivity since, as Bauckham *et al.* observe, “there is simply no ‘magic bullet’ (such as date of composition, authorship, genre, etc.) which allows us as historians rather than theologians to distinguish between canonical ancient revelatory books and noncanonical ones” (*ibid.*, p. xix). Complicating the search for a clear dividing line are examples like *1 Enoch*, a book once highly prized by Christians to the point of being quoted in the New Testament, but which is no longer included in the biblical canon except by the Ethiopic Christian Church.

1356 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 142.

1357 American Heritage Dictionary, *American Heritage Dictionary*. The definition adds: “but composed within approximately 200 years of the birth of Jesus Christ.” This is a typical criterion in collections of pseudepigrapha.

1358 J. H. Walton *et al.*, *Lost World of Scripture*, p. 305

1359 Many scholars see Daniel as a fictional character.

1360 In a footnote, Walton refers to Craig Blomberg's term: “benign pseudonymity.”

1361 See, e.g., J. Gee, *Guide*; B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*; R. Skousen, *Tight Control*,

1362 See D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, pp. 141-147, 169-173.

1363 See *ibid.*, pp. 144-146, 172.

1364 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

1365 P. L. Barlow, *Bible*, p. 57.

1366 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 146.

1367 C. C. Smith, *Inspired Fictionalization*. The study updates the 1983 article, D. J. Whittaker, *Substituted Names*, with new findings from the Joseph Smith Papers Project.

1368 D&C 78, 82, 92, 96.

1369 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 129.

1370 O. Pratt, *The Seer*, 2:3, pp. 228: these changes were made “on account of our enemies, who were seeking every means to destroy the Prophet and the Church.” Cf. Orson Pratt to Brigham Young, 20 November 1842, cited in D. J. Whittaker, *Substituted Names*, p. 106 n. 11.

1371 E.g., P. L. Barlow, *Bible* (2013), pp. 55-57.

1372 B. L. McGuire, 17 March 2014 cautions against the adoption of extremes at either end of the spectrum with respect to translation issues. “On the one end of the spectrum we could (as believers) hold to a view in which [the Books of Moses and Abraham] are modern pseudepigrapha — a notion which contradicts what appears to be the opinion of the text held by Joseph Smith and his contemporaries (and this makes us appropriately uncomfortable ...). On the other end, the view that they are wholly revealed translations of ancient texts seems, at least on the surface, to be unsupportable.”

1373 Cf. K. L. Barney, *Authoring*. In his review of ATOT, Barney summarizes his more open view of the Prophet’s translations as follows: “Since with Joseph’s revealed ‘translation’ projects we are not talking about conventional translations but textual productions grounded in the ‘gift of seeing,’ I think it is important to remain open-minded as to what that might mean in any given case. Perhaps Joseph has restored material that is authentic to an ancient prophet; perhaps he has restored material that is authentic to antiquity generally if not that prophet in particular; or perhaps he has used the method of pseudepigrapha as the medium to convey his own prophetic insights.”

1374 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, pp. 158-159, 170-173, 189.

1375 B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, pp. 151-152.

1376 R. L. Millet, *Book of Mormon, Historicity and Faith*, p. 5.

1377 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 172.

1378 *Ibid.*, pp. 211-214; cf. B. T. Ostler, *Book of Mormon as a Modern Expansion*; B. T. Ostler, *Updating*. For a critique of this view of the Book of Mormon translation process, see S. E. Robinson, “Expanded”. B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, p. 244-246 gives a few examples that seem to indicate modern expansion, but on the whole sees the Book of Mormon translation as closer to the underlying plate text than Ostler (*ibid.*, pp. 150-152, 244-247, 282-283).

1379 J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 25-26 October 1831, 1:220.

1380 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 214.

1381 Though I would agree that the Prophet may have found it difficult to put a description of the specific sensory and cognitive processes by which revealed text was produced, it is more difficult to argue that he did not understand, for example, the role of manuscripts and artifacts he relied on in his translation of the Book of

Mormon. It seems equally unlikely that he did not understand the relationship between the Egyptian papyri and the book of Abraham.

1382 See, e.g., R. O. Barney, Joseph Smith's Visions; R. Nicholson, Cowdery Conundrum. See also J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2, p. 8. Of course, there is no reason to throw doubt on the idea that the translation process relied on instruments and procedures such as those described by Joseph Smith's contemporaries. However, by restricting his description to the statement that the translation occurred "by the gift and power of God" (J. Smith, Jr., Documentary History, 4 January 1833, 1:315, in a parallel to the wording found in Omni 1:20 that was later taken up in the account and testimony of the Three Witnesses (J. Smith, Jr. *et al.*, Histories, 1832-1844, pp. 318-323). See also D&C 1:29, 20:8), the Prophet disclaimed the futile effort to make these sacred events intelligible to others who had not experienced what he had. Instead he pointed our attention to what mattered most: that the translation was accomplished by divine means.

1383 Ginzberg reports traditions of "several ascensions of Moses": a first "at the beginning of his career," a second "at the revelation of the Torah," and the third "shortly before his death" (L. Ginzberg, Legends, 5:417). For a brief overview of accounts that interpreted Moses' ascent to Sinai as an ascent to the holy of holies, see M. Barker, Great High Priest, pp. 218-219. For useful general summaries of ascent literature, see W. J. Hamblin, Temple Motifs; J. F. McConkie, Premortal; M. Barker, Temple Theology; M. Barker, Risen. For an interpretation of the Islamic *hajj* pilgrimage as a form of ascent, see S. A. Ashraf, Inner, p. 125, and for the Islamic story of Habib, who "entered [Paradise] alive," see M. Ibn Ishaq ibn Yasar, Making, pp. 227-228. For a discussion of Moses' vision on Sinai as an ascent and rebirth, see P. Borgen, John and Philo, pp. 60-65. For a detailed commentary on Moses 1, see J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, pp. 32-81. See also H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, 17, p. 205; J. M. Bradshaw, Ezekiel Mural.

1384 See J. M. Bradshaw, LDS Book of Enoch.

1385 H. W. Nibley, Apocryphal, p. 312; cf. pp. 310-311. See W. W. Isenberg, Philip, 85:14-16, p. 159.

1386 2 Peter 1:10. See J. M. Bradshaw, Temple Themes in the Oath, pp. 59-65.

1387 J. W. Ludlow, Visions.

1388 H. W. Nibley, To Open; H. W. Nibley, Abraham 2000, pp. 1-73.

1389 J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, Apocalypse of Abraham. For a brief summary, see J. M. Bradshaw, God's Image 1, Excursus 54, pp. 694-696.

1390 For the English translation, I have used A. Kulik, Retroverting, Apocalypse of Abraham chs. 9-23, pp. 16-27 unless otherwise noted. The first English translation of the Apocalypse of Abraham was made in 1898. Notably, this translation did not appear in a scholarly journal, but rather in the *Improvement Era*, an official

publication of the Church (E. H. Anderson *et al.*, Abraham).

1391 Moses 1:1; AA 9:8.

1392 Moses 1:3; AA 9:3.

1393 AA 9:5.

1394 Cf. Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 2.

1395 Moses 1:6; AA 9:6.

1396 Moses 1:4; AA 9:6.

1397 AA 10:1-3.

1398 Moses 1:9-11.

1399 Moses 1:12; AA 13:4-5.

1400 Moses 1:13; AA 13:6.

1401 Moses 1:13-14; AA 13:7.

1402 Moses 1:16: "Get thee hence, Satan; deceive me not." AA 13:12-13: "Depart from [Abraham]! You cannot deceive him."

1403 Moses 1:16; AA 13:14.

1404 Moses 1:18: "Depart hence, Satan." AA 14:7: "vanish from before me!"

1405 Moses 1:19; AA 14:9-10.

1406 Moses 1:20, 21: "Moses ... commanded, saying: Depart from me, Satan ... And now Satan began to tremble."

1407 See R. H. Charles, *Enoch*, 13:3 (Gizeh), p. 288. Nibley's English translation reads (H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, pp. 10-11; cf. R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha*, 2:196 n. 13:1): "And Enoch said to Azazel, Depart! ... Then he departed and spoke to all of them [i.e., his followers] ... and trembling ... seized them." Nibley's reading is perfectly coherent. However, Nickelsburg does not see the logic of the Gizeh variant, calling the passage "nonsense" (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, n. 13:1a, p. 234).

1408 Moses 1:24-26.

1409 AA 15:2-3.

1410 2 Nephi 4:25.

1411 Moses 1:25.

1412 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 17:1, p. 696

1413 Compare H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005, pp. 449-457.

1414 M. E. Stone, *Fall of Satan*, p. 47; cf. Revelation 4:1: "Come up hither"; Matthew 25:21: "Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

1415 R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 30:1, p. 704.

1416 Moses 1:24.

1417 Moses 1:27-28.

1418 AA 21:1.

1419 H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, 10, p. 117; cf. J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 27 November 1832, 1:299. Scholem writes that “this cosmic curtain, as it is described in the Book of Enoch, contains the images of all things which since the day of creation have their pre-existing reality, as it were, in the heavenly sphere. All generations and all their lives and actions are woven into this curtain... [All this] shall become universal knowledge in the Messianic age” (G. Scholem, *Trends*, p. 72).

1420 P. Alexander, 3 Enoch, 45:6, p. 299.

1421 M. Barker, *Temple Theology*, p. 28; see also M. Barker, *Boundary*, pp. 215-217. Nibley discusses parallels between the picture presented to Abraham and the “great round” of the hypocephalus (H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 42ff.).

1422 D&C 107:56, Moses 7:4-67, Ether 3:25, 1 Nephi 14:25, 1 Nephi 14:26, Luke 4:5, M. C. Thomas, Brother of Jared.

1423 Ether 3:20; cf. Moses 3:26.

1424 P. Alexander, 3 Enoch, 45:1, p. 296 n. a.

1425 Moses 1:30.

1426 AA 26:1.

1427 See Moses 2.

1428 See Moses 1:39.

1429 AA 27:1-31. Nibley nonetheless sees parallels between these passages in the *Apocalypse* and the books of Moses and Abraham (H. W. Nibley, *Abraham* 2000, pp. 25-26).

1430 By way of contrast, questions addressed to God in the Islamic *Mother of Books* provide a closer parallel to the material found in the book of Moses: “My Lord, ... From where did he make the spirits? What was the origin of his creation?” (W. Barnstone *et al.*, *Mother*, p. 685).

1431 A. A. Orlov, *Gods of My Father*, p. 53; see also A. A. Orlov, *Praxis*.

1432 AA 16:3, emphasis mine.

1433 Moses chapters 2-4. Other ancient writings affirm what the book of Moses says about how the stories of the Creation and the Fall were revealed in vision. For example, the book of Jubilees prefaces a recital of the Creation and other events of

Genesis with the Lord's instructions to Moses to record what he would see in vision (O. S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, 2:52, p. 54).

1434 D&C 130:9.

1435 AA 19:1, 4-5, 9; cf. Abraham 3:1-18.

1436 I.e., formerly shadowed, sketched, outlined, prefigured (R. Rubinkiewicz, *Apocalypse of Abraham*, p. 699 n. 21a).

1437 Cf. Abraham 5:3-5.

1438 Cf. Abraham 3:22-23.

1439 A. Kulik, *Retroverting*, pp. 26-28.

1440 The same basic pattern can also be observed in *Jubilees*, where it is made explicit in the opening part of the book that the revelation to Moses about Creation and other matters was given through direct speech by God and disclosures by an angel of the presence (J. C. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 1:1-5, pp. 1-2, 2:1ff., p. 7ff.), as is observed in ATOT (D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 146) and also has been discussed in E. D. Clark, *Prologue*. The theme of Moses having received the words by direct revelation continues throughout the book. Indeed, VanderKam notes that, after the opening scenes in the Prologue and 1:1-2:1, there are "22 direct or indirect reminders that the angel is dictating to Moses" (J. C. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees* (2001), p. 24).

1441 H. W. Nibley, *To Open*, p. 15.

1442 By way of contrast, the account of Creation given in the book of Moses seems to interact directly with its KJV equivalent. In the prologue of Moses 2:1 and throughout the rest of the chapter, we seem to be reading the result of the Prophet's layering onto the KJV account, not only additional theological concepts, but also bridging context that reinforces the idea that Moses received an account of Creation by direct revelation from God, whether or not the creation account as we have it constitutes the exact words of that revelation.

1443 D. E. Bokovoy, *Authoring Genesis-Deuteronomy*, p. 139.

1444 B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*. Gardner sees deeper inquiry into Joseph Smith's role as a translator as "one of the next important discussions that LDS scholars must have. We really have to work out Joseph as a translator based on data rather than assumptions. It will be our own form of Higher Criticism. In this case, however, we won't be discovering the human editorial process but attempting to understand the divine process that merged revelation and translation into Joseph's textual production" (B. Gardner, 19 March 2014).

1445 *Book of Moses*, chapters 6 and 7. For more on the story of Enoch, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*.

1446 For example, J. L. Brooke, *Refiner's Fire* seeks to make the case that Sidney Rigdon, among others, was a “conduit of Masonic lore during Joseph’s early years” and then goes on to make a set of weakly substantiated claims connecting Mormonism and Masonry. These claims, including connections with the story of Enoch’s pillars in Royal Arch Masonry, are refuted by William J. Hamblin et al. (W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Mormon in the Fiery Furnace*; W. J. Hamblin *et al.*, *Review of John L. Brooke*; cf. P. L. Barlow, *Decoding*; J. Shipps, *Sojourner*, pp. 204-217) and Jed Woodworth (J. L. Woodworth, *Enoch*, pp. 188-189). Non-Mormon scholar Stephen Webb agrees with Hamblin et al., concluding that “actual evidence for any direct link between [Joseph Smith’s] theology and the hermetic tradition is tenuous at best, and given that scholars vigorously debate whether hermeticism even constitutes a coherent and organized tradition, Brooke’s book should be read with a fair amount of skepticism” (S. H. Webb, *Jesus Christ*, p. 260). For a debunking of the idea that LDS temple ordinances are a simple derivation from Freemasonry, see M. B. Brown, *Exploring*. Brown’s more in-depth manuscript dealing with this topic still awaits publication. For a summary of the contents of the major Enoch pseudepigrapha and selected points of relevance for LDS readers, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God’s Image 2*, pp. 468-477.

1447 S. Cirillo, Joseph Smith..

1448 D. M. Quinn, *Magic* 1998, p. 193.

1449 E.g., S. Cirillo, Joseph Smith., p. 126: “substantial similarities between the [pseudepigraphic Books of Enoch (BE)] and [the LDS Extract from the Prophecy of Enoch (EPE)] are irrefutable proof of influence. The extensive relationship between Noah and Enoch and its expression in the EPE mimics many aspects of [*1 Enoch*]. The concept of the Son of Man and its application in the EPE with Enoch is further proof that Smith had acquired knowledge of [*1 Enoch*]. Nibley’s own point that Mahujah and Mahijah from the EPE share their name with Mahaway in the [Qumran *Book of the Giants* (BG)] is further evidence that influence occurred. And additional proof of Smith’s knowledge of the BG is evidenced by his use of the codename Baurak Ale.”

Note in particular the difficulty in arguing influence of the *Book of the Giants* on the book of Moses Enoch account, since the former was not discovered until 1948. Cirillo does not attempt an explanation for how influence might have occurred in this case. The only attempt to explain such a phenomenon of which I am aware comes from two separate remembrances of the well-known Aramaic scholar Matthew Black, who collaborated with Jozef Milik in the first translation of the fragments of the *Book of the Giants* into English in 1976. Black was approached by Gordon Thomasson after a guest lecture at Cornell University, during a year that Black spent at the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton (1977-1978) (W. McKane, Matthew Black). According to Thomasson’s account (G. C. Thomasson, *Items on Enoch — Some Notes of Personal History*. Expansion of remarks given at the Conference on Enoch and the

Temple, Academy for Temple Studies, Provo, Utah, 22 February 2013 (unpublished manuscript, 25 February 2013); *ibid.*):

I asked Professor Black if he was familiar with Joseph Smith's Enoch text. He said he was not but was interested. He first asked if it was identical or similar to 1 Enoch. I told him it was not and then proceeded to recite some of the correlations Dr. Nibley had shown with Milik and Black's own and others' Qumran and Ethiopic Enoch materials. He became quiet. When I got to Mahujah (Moses 7:2), he raised his hand in a "please pause" gesture and was silent. Finally, he acknowledged that the name Mahujah "could not have come from *1 Enoch*. He then formulated a hypothesis, consistent with his lecture, that a member of one of the esoteric groups he had described previously [i.e., clandestine groups who had maintained, *sub rosa*, a religious tradition based in the writings of Enoch that predated Genesis] must have survived into the 19th century, and hearing of Joseph Smith, must have brought the group's Enoch texts to New York from Italy for the prophet to translate and publish.

At the end of our conversation he expressed an interest in seeing more of Hugh's work. I proposed that Black should meet with Hugh [Nibley], gave him the contact information. He contacted Hugh the same day, as Hugh later confirmed to me. Soon Black made a previously unplanned trip to Provo, where he met with Hugh for some time. Black also gave a public guest lecture but, as I was told, in that public forum would not entertain questions on Moses.

In H. W. Nibley, *Teachings of the PGP*, pp. 267-269, Hugh Nibley recorded a conversation with Matthew Black that apparently occurred near the end of the latter's 1977 visit to BYU. Nibley asked Black if he had an explanation for the appearance of the name Mahujah in the book of Moses, and reported his answer as follows: "Well, someday we will find out the source that Joseph Smith used."

1450 R. L. Bushman, *Rough Stone*, p. 138.

1451 *Ibid.*, p. 138. Cf. J. L. Woodworth, *Enoch*, pp. 190-192.

1452 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, pp. 117-119. In addition, of course, *1 Enoch* and the book of Moses share a common interest in the story of Noah and the Flood.

1453 See, e.g., J. M. Bradshaw, *LDS Book of Enoch*, pp. 36-39, 104.

1454 J. L. Woodworth, *Enoch*, pp. 190, 192 concludes: "While I do not share the confidence the parallelist feels for the inaccessibility of Laurence to Joseph Smith, I do not find sharp enough similarities to support the derivatist position. The tone and weight and direction of [*1 Enoch* and the book of Moses] are worlds apart ... The problem with the derivatist position is [that] ... Laurence as source material for Joseph Smith does not make much sense if the two texts cannot agree on important issues. The texts may indeed have some similarities, but the central figures do not

have the same face, do not share the same voice, and are not, therefore, the same people. In this sense, the Enoch in the book of Moses is as different from the Enoch of Laurence as he is from the Enoch in the other extra-biblical Enochs in early American culture. Same name, different voice.”

1455 S. D. Ricks, Narrative Call.

1456 S. Zinner, Underemphasized parallels, p. 5.

1457 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2, pp. 35-36.

1458 See F. I. Andersen, 2 Enoch, 10:4 (shorter recension), p. 119, P. Alexander, 3 Enoch, 2:2, p. 357, 3:2, p. 257, 4:1, p. 258, and 4:10, p. 259, and C. Mopsik, Hénoch, 48D 1, p. 156 (97). See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2, Endnote M6-7, p. 93.

1459 G. A. Anderson, Exaltation, p. 107. Robert F. Smith notes that the title “lad” in 2 and 3 *Enoch* “might be compared with Book of Mormon Alma ‘Lad, Young Man,’ which may be short for hypothetical Hebrew ‘Alma’ ‘El ‘Lad of ‘El,’ the Ugaritic epithet of King Kirta, ‘Im ‘il ‘Lad of El,’ and taking a hint from Mosiah 17:2 ‘and he was a young man.’ (Matt Bowen sees a pun)” (Robert F. Smith, <http://www.mormoninterpreter.com/sorting-out-the-sources-in-scripture/#comment-13917>, 6 March 2014).

1460. For recent scholarship on these resemblances, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2, 41-49. Pioneering insights on Enochic parallels can be found in the writings of Hugh W. Nibley. He wrote a series of magazine articles on resemblances between ancient Enoch writings and the book of Moses for the Church's *Ensign* magazine in 1975–1977, receiving Milik's English translation of the Book of the Giants only days before the publication deadline for the last article in the series. As a result, of the more than 300 pages he devoted to Enoch in the volume that gathered his writings on the subject, only a few pages were dedicated to the Aramaic “Enoch” fragments. H. W. Nibley, Enoch, pp. 276-281. Regrettably, after he completed his initial research at that time, Nibley turned his attention to other subjects and never again took up a sustained study of Enoch.

1461 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, God's Image 2, pp. 41-45, 47.

1462 See Moses 6:40, 7:2 and *ibid.*, pp. 42-45. S. Cirillo, Joseph Smith., p. 97, following L. T. Stuckenbruck, Book of Giants, p. 27, considers that the most conspicuously independent content” in the *Book of the Giants*, “unparalleled in other Jewish literature,” is the names of the giants, including Mahaway [i.e., Mahujah].” Moreover, according to Cirillo: “The name Mahaway in the [*Book of the Giants*] and the names Mahujah and Mahijah in the [book of Moses] represent the strongest similarity between the [LDS revelations on Enoch] and the [pseudepigraphal books of Enoch] (specifically the [*Book of the Giants*]).”

1463 H. W. Nibley, Teachings of the PGP, p. 278.

1464 Moses 7:2. On reading Mahujah as a personal name rather than a place name, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, Endnote M6-13, p. 94.

1465 Moses 7:3.

1466 A. A. Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, p. 102.

1467 F. I. Andersen, *2 Enoch*, 22:8 [J], p. 138. Cf. 2 Corinthians 5:1-4. See J. J. Collins, *Angelic Life*, p. 293.

1468 Moses 7:59.

1469 P. S. Alexander, *From Son of Adam*, 10:1, 3, pp. 263-264.

1470 G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, *1 Enoch* 2, 46:2-4, p. 153; 48:2, p. 166; 60:10, p. 233; 62:5, 7, 9, 14, p. 254; 63:11, p. 255; 69:26-27, 29, p. 311; 70:1, p. 315; 71:14, 17, p. 320.

1471 Moses 7:24, 47, 54, 56, 59, 65.

1472 Moses 7:39. Cf. Moses 4:2. See G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, *1 Enoch* 2, 39:6, p. 111; 40:5, p. 130; 45:3-4, p. 148; 49:2, 4, p. 166; 51:5a, 3, p. 180; 52:6, 9, p. 187; 53:6, p. 194; 55:4, p. 198; 61:5, 8, 10, pp. 243, 247; 62:1, p. 254.

1473 I.e., Messiah. See Moses 7:53. See *ibid.*, 48:10, p. 166; 52:4, p. 187.

1474 Moses 6:57; 7:45, 47, 67. See *ibid.*, 38:2, p. 95; 53:6, p. 194. The term also appears by implication in 39:6, p. 111; 46:3, p. 153; 49:2, p. 166; 62:2-3, p. 254.

1475 *Ibid.*, 119, emphasis added. The entire discussion is found on pp. 113-123. For additional discussion of the "Son of Man" title from an LDS perspective, see S. K. Brown, *Man and Son of Man*. For more on the debate surrounding this title, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, Endnote M7-16, p. 191.

1476 Cf. John 5:27: "And [the Father] hath given him authority to execute judgment also, because he is the Son of man." For a comparison of the claims of Jesus in this verse to related ideas in the Old Testament (Moses, Daniel) and the pseudepigraphal literature, see C. S. Keener, *John*, 1:651-652.

1477 E.g., G. W. E. Nickelsburg *et al.*, *1 Enoch* 2, 69:27, 311: "... and the whole judgment was given to the Son of Man." For a summary of this issue, see *ibid.*, p. 119.

1478 Genesis 5:24.

1479 Moses 7:69.

1480 A. Jellinek, *BHM* 4, 4, pp. 131-132. Cf. M. M. Noah, *Jasher*, 3:24-38, pp. 7-8. For a new English translation by David Calabro, see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, Endnote M7-23, pp. 193-194.

1481 J. P. Migne, *Livre d'Adam*, 21, p. 170.

1482 D. J. Larsen, *Enoch and the City of Zion* (2014), p. 30.

1483 B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, p. 247. For instance, Gardner considers, among other types of examples, the proper names of the Book of Mormon as specific instances of literal translation. He also finds examples of structural elements (e.g., chiasms and other literary features) in the Book of Mormon that are neither random nor “part of the common repertoire available to a writer in upstate New York in the 1830s. They represent features of the plate text that have survived the translation process” (ibid., p. 204). For summary discussions of the detailed analysis of this issue given throughout the book, see especially ibid., pp. 227-247, 279-283.

1484 R. Skousen, *Tight Control*.

1485 R. Skousen, *Earliest*, pp. 456-470. For the original study, see K. P. Jackson *et al.*, *Two Passages*.

1486 Lorenzo Brown in “Sayings of Joseph, by Those Who Heard Him at Different Times,” Joseph Smith Jr. Papers, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT, cited in K. Flake, *Translating Time*, p. 506 n. 31. Flake notes: “Brown’s statement is based on his recollection in 1880 of a conversation that occurred in 1832. For a discussion about the reliability of this account, see R. J. Matthews, *Plainer*, pp. 25-26, n. 12. Elder Orson F. Whitney reported a similar experience in more recent times — see J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, p. 177.

1487 This process seems similar to Gardner’s suggestions about how Joseph Smith seems to have translated biblical texts found within the Book of Mormon (e.g., B. A. Gardner, *Gift and Power*, pp. 215-225).

1488 In this connection, it is interesting to consider how well Joseph Smith’s contemporaries might have received his translation of, e.g., the story of the Creation and the Fall had he produced a *de novo* account as opposed to layering prophetic insights onto the KJV text in a more limited fashion.

1489 J. Smith, Jr., *Documentary History*, 27 November 1832, 1:299.

1490 R. J. Matthews, *Plainer*, p. 215.

1491 For example, Gerrit Dirkmaat gives examples of Joseph Smith’s efforts to revise and update his Doctrine and Covenants revelations as they were prepared for publication (G. Dirkmaat, *Great*, pp. 56-57).

1492 D&C 1:24.

1493 D&C 128:18.

1494 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image 2*, Endnote 0-12, p. 27.

1495 For example, Bachman has argued convincingly that nearly all of D&C 132 was revealed to the Prophet as he worked on the first half of JST Genesis (D. W. Bachman, *New Light*). This was more than a decade before 1843, when the revelation was shared with Joseph Smith’s close associates.

1496 J. Smith, Jr., Writings 2002, 31 July 1832, p. 273. This is consistent with George Q. Cannon's statement about the Prophet's intentions to "seal up" the work for "a later day" after he completed the main work of Bible translation on 2 February 1833: "No endeavor was made at that time to print the work. It was sealed up with the expectation that it would be brought forth at a later day with other of the scriptures ... [See D&C 42:56–58.] [T]he labor was its own reward, bringing in the performance a special blessing of broadened comprehension to the Prophet and a general blessing of enlightenment to the people through his subsequent teachings" (G. Q. Cannon, *Life* (1907), p. 129). I have argued that the divine tutorial that took place during Joseph Smith's Bible translation effort was focused on temple and priesthood matters — hence the restriction on general dissemination of these teachings during the Prophet's early ministry. See J. M. Bradshaw, *God's Image* 1, pp. 3–6.

1497 See J. M. Bradshaw *et al.*, *God's Image* 2, Endnote 0-13, p. 28.

1498 Moses 1:43. See also Moses 4:32: "See thou show them unto no man, until I command you, except to them that believe."

1499 The quoted words are from LDS Apostle George Q. Cannon's remembrance (G. Q. Cannon, *Life* (1907), p. 129 n.): "We have heard President Brigham Young state that the Prophet before his death had spoken to him about going through the translation of the scriptures again and perfecting it upon points of doctrine which the Lord had restrained him from giving in plainness and fulness at the time of which we write."

1500 Cited in R. G. Moore, *Comparative Look*, pp. 111-112.

1501 Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 8.

1502 Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 9.

1503 H. W. Nibley, *Message* 2005.

1504 Abraham, Facsimile 2, figure 11.

1505 H. W. Nibley *et al.*, *One Eternal Round*, pp. 18-19.